The Transformation of the Irish Church in the Twelfth Century

Marie Therese Flanagan

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THE TRANSFORMATION OF
THE IRISH CHURCH
IN THE TWELFTH AND
THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

The twelfth century saw a wide-ranging transformation of the Irish church, a regional manifestation of a wider pan-European reform movement. This book, the first to offer a full account of this change, moves away from the previous concentration on the restructuring of Irish dioceses and episcopal authority, and the introduction of Continental monastic observances, to widen the discussion. It charts changes in the religious culture experienced by the laity as well as the clergy and takes account of the particular Irish experience within the broader context of Continental reform. The universal ideals that were defined with increasing clarity by Continental advocates of reform generated a series of responses from Irish churchmen aimed at disseminating reform ideology within clerical circles and transmitting it also to lay society, even if, as elsewhere, it often proved difficult to implement in practice. Whatever the obstacles faced by reformist clergy, their genuine concern to transform the Irish church and society is attested in a range of hitherto unexploited sources this volume draws upon.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES

bar.	barony
co.	county
d.	died
ed.	edited by
par.	parish
tld	townland
transl.	translated by

ABoyle	Freeman, A. M. (ed.), 'The annals in Cotton MS Titus A XXV', *Revue Celtique*, 41 (1924), 301–30; 42 (1925), 283–305; 43 (1926), 358–84; 44 (1927), 336–61
AClon	Murphy, D. (ed.), *The Annals of Clonmacnoise, being Annals of Ireland from the Earliest Period to AD 1408 translated into English A.D. 1627 by Conell Mageoghagan*, Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland (Dublin, 1896)
AConn	Freeman, A. M. (ed.), *Annála Connacht: The Annals of Connacht (A.D. 1224–1544)*, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (Dublin, 1944)
AFM	O'Donovan, J. (ed.), *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters from the Earliest Period to the Year 1616*, 7 vols (Dublin 1845–51)
AI	Mac Airt, S. (ed.), *The Annals of Inisfallen*, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (Dublin, 1951)
ALC	Hennessy, W. M. (ed.), *Annals of Loch Cé*, 2 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1871)
AT	Stokes, W. (ed.), 'The annals of Tigernach', *Revue Celtique*, 16 (1895), 374–419; 17 (1896), 6–33, 119–263, 337–420; 18 (1897), 9–59, 150–97, 267–303; reprinted in two vols (Felinfach, 1993)
AU	Hennessy, W. M., and B. MacCarthy (eds), *Annála Uladh: Annals of Ulster*, 4 vols (Dublin, 1887–1901)
AU²	Mac Niocaill, G. (ed.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (Dublin, 1983)
Book of Obits	Crosthwaite, J. C., and J. H. Todd (eds), *The Book of Obits and Martyrology of the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity, Commonly Called Christ Church, Dublin*, Irish Archaeo- logical Society (Dublin, 1844)
CS	Hennessy, W. M. (ed.), *Chronicon Scotorum: A Chronicle of Irish Affairs from the Earliest Times to AD 1135; with a*

	Supplement Containing the Events from 1141 to 1150, Rolls Series (London, 1866)
Félire Húi Gormáin	Stokes, W. (ed.), *Félire Húi Gormáin: The Martyrology of Gorman*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 9 (London, 1895)
FFE	Keating, G., *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn: The History of Ireland*; ed. D. Comyn and P. S. Dinneen, 4 vols, Irish Texts Society, 4 (1901); 8 (1905); 9 (1906); 15 (1913) (London, 1902–14)
Expugnatio	Scott, A. B., and F. X. Martin (eds), *Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis* (Dublin, 1978)
Giraldi Opera	Brewer, J. S., J. F. Dimock, and G. F. Warner (eds), *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, 8 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1861–91)
Gwynn, *Irish Church*	Gwynn, A., *The Irish Church in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*; ed. G. O'Brien (Blackrock, co. Dublin, 1992)
Heist, *Vitae SS Hib.*	Heist, W. W. (ed.), *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae ex Codice olim Salmanticensi nunc Bruxellensi*, Subsidia Hagiographica, 28 (Brussels, 1965)
Letters of Anselm	Fröhlich, W. (transl.), *The Letters of St Anselm of Canterbury*; 3 vols, Cistercian Studies, 96, 97, 142 (Kalamazoo, MI, 1990–94)
Letters of Lanfranc	Clover, H., and M. Gibson (eds), *The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1979)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
MIA	Ó Hinnse, S. (ed.), *Miscellaneous Irish Annals (A.D. 1114–1437)*, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (Dublin, 1947)
Migne, *PL*	Migne, J.-P., *Patrologiae Latinae Cursus Completus Series Latina*, 221 vols (Paris, 1844–91)
NHI	Moody, T. W., F. X. Martin, and F. J. Byrne (eds), *A New History of Ireland*, 9 vols (Oxford, 1976–2005)
ODNB	Matthew, H. C. G., and B. Harrison (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 61 vols (Oxford, 2004)
Plummer, *Bethada*	Plummer, C., *Bethada Náem nÉrenn: Lives of Irish saints*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1922)
Plummer, *Vitae SS Hib.*	Plummer, C., *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1910)
PRG	Vogel, C., and R. Elze (eds), *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique du Dixième Siècle*, 3 vols, Studi e Testi, 226, 227, 269 (Rome, 1963–72)
Sancti Anselmi Opera	Schmitt, F. M. (ed.), *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia*, 6 vols (Rome, 1938–61)
Sancti Bernardi Opera	Leclercq, J., C. H. Talbot, and H.-M. Rochais (eds), *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, 8 vols in 9 (Rome, 1957–77)
Sheehy, *Pontificia*	Sheehy, M. P. (ed.), *Pontificia Hibernica*, 2 vols (Dublin, 1962–5)

St Malachy the Irishman	Meyer, R. T. (transl.), *The Life and Death of Saint Malachy the Irishman* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1978)
Visio Tnugdali	Pfeil, B., *Die 'Vision des Tnugdalus' Albers von Windberg: Literatur- und Frömmigskeitsgeschichte im Ausgehenden 12. Jahrhundert, mit einer Edition der Lateinischen 'Visio Tnugdali' aus Clm 22254*, Mikrokosmos, 54 (Frankfurt, 1999)
Vita Flannani	*Vita Flannani* in Heist, W. W. (ed.), *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae ex Codice olim Salmanticensi nunc Bruxellensi*, Subsidia Hagiographica, 28 (Brussels, 1965), 280–301
Vita Malachiae	*Vita Malachiae* in J. Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and H.-M. Rochais (eds), *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, 8 vols in 9 (Rome 1957–77), iii, 297–378

INTRODUCTION

This study offers an account of the Irish church during the twelfth century, a time of institutional restructuring and religious renewal associated with a reform movement that was a regional manifestation of a much wider European phenomenon. The sources for such an undertaking are problematic, with serious gaps in the evidence, making a comprehensive portrayal difficult to achieve for a time when elsewhere in medieval Europe there was a widespread increase in the quantity and quality of written sources. Although the focus is the pre-Anglo-Norman twelfth century it has sometimes proved necessary, in light of evidentiary problems, to extend the chronological parameters back before the twelfth century, or forward into the post-Anglo-Norman period. Anglo-Norman intrusion into Ireland from 1167 onwards undoubtedly had a major impact on the Irish church, but it merits separate treatment and is not attempted here. Nonetheless, it has cast a retrospective shadow over the twelfth-century Irish church as a moral imperative for external intervention was advanced on the basis of an urgent need for reform. The decadence and the general backwardness, even barbarity, of Irish society, as well as its imputed nominal practice of Christianity, were used to justify Anglo-Norman engagement with Ireland, most notably in the propagandist writings of its principal apologist, Gerald of Wales. Gerald's case relied on drawing a deliberately sharp contrast between natives and newcomers, leading to exaggerated portraits of Irish degeneracy. In that way, the Anglo-Normans could be portrayed as both agents of divine retribution for the moral lapses of the Irish people and instruments for ameliorative change.

  Historians of the Irish church reform movement have been compelled to concentrate on those aspects for which the most substantial evidence has survived; this has led to a particular emphasis on structural changes in dioceses and episcopal authority, on relations with the church of Canterbury, and on the introduction of Continental monastic observances, most especially of Cistercian monasticism. This is an inevitable consequence of the bias of the extant source material, a problem which remains difficult to surmount and has largely dictated that there have been surprisingly few attempts at a broader survey of the twelfth-century transformation of the Irish church. The foundations for such a study were laid by Aubrey Gwynn in an extensive series of articles between 1940 and 1980, the most important of which were gathered into a single volume and published posthumously as *The Irish Church in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Blackrock, co. Dublin, 1992). A more recent scholarly landmark was the publication of *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century: Reform and Renewal*, ed. D. Bracken and D. Ó Riain-Raedel (Dublin, 2006), a volume of twelve essays arising out of a conference held in 2001 to mark the thousandth anniversary of the synod of Cashel, 1101, which has conventionally been

regarded as inaugurating a systematic programme of church reform. That collection contains important contributions, notably in the art-historical sphere and on the Irish monastic communities that were founded in southern Germany and Austria in the first half of the twelfth century.

Ultimately, historians can only work with the evidence to hand; yet this book aims to draw on a wider range of texts than has hitherto been employed, including the problematic genre of hagiography, so as to try to move beyond the predominant focus on institutional restructuring. It seeks to chart changes in religious culture experienced by laity as well as clergy and to take account of the particular Irish experience within the broader European context of reform. It does not consider any one individual career or any one church in detail; nor is it concerned with underlying political changes, although those undoubtedly had an important bearing on ecclesiastical developments and particularly on the establishment of territorially fixed bishoprics and dioceses, the boundaries of which were drawn to be coterminous with contemporary political kingdoms. Each diocese merits individual consideration within the local political context, but this has not been attempted here, since it would have resulted in a series of heavily regionalised discussions. The aim is rather to broaden coverage to take account of aspects that have hitherto attracted less attention, such as the impact of the reform agenda on the ideology of episcopal leadership and on lay society.

This account does not make claims to comprehensive coverage. Much work still remains to be done, particularly in the specialist fields of sermon literature, liturgy, canon law, eschatological and apocryphal material, the distinctiveness and complexity of which warrant separate treatment. I hope, however, that the book opens paths for future discussion.

1

CHARTING CHANGE IN THE TWELFTH-CENTURY
IRISH CHURCH:
THE PROBLEM OF SOURCES

The Irish church underwent a radical transformation during a 'long twelfth century',[1] but the sources of inspiration, as well as the modes of implementation of change, remain frustratingly obscure. There is no substantial or coherent body of material bearing on the movement for renewal, and, consequently, evidence has to be pieced together from a wide variety of disparate and often fragmentary sources. The annals, originating within monastic institutions, constitute an important source, although their value for the twelfth century is greatly reduced by gaps in the principal collections. There are lacunae in the Annals of Ulster between 1131 and 1155, the Annals of Inisfallen between 1131 and 1158 and the Annals of Loch Cé between 1139 and 1169, while *Chronicum Scotorum* terminates in 1150 (the entries between 1136 and 1140 are also missing), and coverage in the Annals of Tigernach ends in 1176.[2] In any case, annals generally provide only unconnected notices, such as the deaths of important ecclesiastics and kings, attacks on churches and monasteries, and reports of royal assemblies, councils and synods, but little elaborated information. They are usually devoid of elements such as causation, motivation, and character development, the kind of narrative evidence upon which historians typically depend. All manner of events from weather conditions to death-notices, military engagements and the burning of churches – often recorded without any indication of whether a fire was accidental or deliberate – are juxtaposed as if equal in importance and without causal connections or the subordination of one element to another. Since Divine Providence was considered by the annalists to be the ultimate cause of all happenings, mostly passive observation sufficed. Although there is some discernible development towards a more sustained narrative approach, notably in the twelfth-century coverage in the Connacht-based Annals of Tigernach, and the

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1   The idea of a long twelfth century that stretched from around 1050 to 1250 has been used by a number of historians of Continental Europe and its application is also appropriate to the reform movement in the Irish church, the beginnings of which are discernible from the mid eleventh century. Cf. R. N. Swanson, *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (Manchester, 1999), viii, 4–5, 207–13; S. Reynolds, 'The emergence of professional law in the long twelfth century', *Law and History Review*, 21 (2003), 347–66.
2   Details in G. Mac Niocaill, *The Medieval Irish Annals*, Medieval Irish History Series (Dublin, 1975).

occasional rhetorical flourish of a personal opinion, usually attributing divine retribution or prefiguration, by the twelfth century the conventions of the annalistic genre had become fixed and only certain types of information were recorded and in a formulaic way.[3] Regional coverage is also uneven, with no extant set of annals from Leinster, a key area that underwent rapid ecclesiastical and political change during the twelfth century and was especially receptive to external influences via the Hiberno-Norse port towns.

Sources for the major church councils, which constitute the clearest evidence for a broadly based reform agenda, are notably poor. At least twelve national or provincial synods are recorded in the annals between 1101 and 1179;[4] for the majority of these, however, there is little information beyond a one-line sentence. There is a paucity of extant synodal legislation, and what does survive is in imperfect versions in sources of a later date. Thus, for the important synod held at Cashel in 1101 a very inadequate record of decrees is preserved in two eighteenth-century genealogical compilations, *Senchas Síl mBriain* and *Leabhar Muimhneach*.[5] The eight decrees of Cashel, such as they are, are now transmitted in Irish, although the originals undoubtedly would have been formulated in Latin and may also have been more expansive. Similarly, in the case of the synod of Ráith Bressail, the principal source for its decrees is the version extracted by the seventeenth-century historian Geoffrey Keating for his *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* ('The Basis of Knowledge about Ireland'), from a now-lost 'old annalistic book of the church of Clonenagh in which are recorded the principal things done at that synod'.[6]

Keating is also a major source for the proceedings of the synod of Kells (1152), again drawing on the 'old book of chronicles which was written in Clonenagh'.[7] As in the case of Ráith Bressail, he focused on listing the episcopal sees and dioceses endorsed at Kells, with no record of its other decrees. Keating is the only source to refer to the Book of Clonenagh and so its contents cannot otherwise be determined, though it would appear to have been a set of annals rather than a compilation of synodal legislation. Keating's account may be compared with a Continentally preserved Latin list of the sees approved at Kells in a manuscript in a twelfth-century hand that is associated with the Cistercian abbey of Pontigny.[8] The Pontigny manuscript contains only a bare listing of sees:

3 See J. Radner, 'Early Irish historiography and the significance of form', *Celtica*, 23 (1999), 312–25.

4 Details in D. N. Dumville, *Councils and Synods of the Gaelic Early and Central Middle Ages*, Quiggin Pamphlets on the Sources of Mediaeval Gaelic History, 3 (Cambridge, 1988), 38–9.

5 Below, p. 47.

6 *FFE*, iii, 298–307. For the church of Clonenagh, see below, p. 53, n. 101.

7 *FFE*, iii, 313–17. For another wholly Latin version of proceedings at Kells transcribed for Sir James Ware *ex MS libro vetusto D. Flannani mac Aegain*, see M. Holland, 'The synod of Kells in MS BL, Add. 4783', *Peritia*, 19 (2005), 164–72. Flannan mac Aegain has not been identified.

8 See M. Peyrafort-Huin, *La Bibliothèque Médiévale de l'Abbaye de Pontigny (XIIe–XIXe siècles): Histoire, Inventaires Anciens, Manuscrits*, Documents, Études et Répertoires, 60 (Paris, [2002]),

in effect, it was intended to serve as a *provinciale* of the Irish church, a list of ecclesiastical provinces and dioceses.[9] It may be assumed that it was copied from an exemplar close to the papal legate Cardinal John Paparo, who presided at the synod and would certainly have taken back to the papal curia a list of the dioceses that he had approved. In light of the paucity of extant sources for the synods of Ráith Bressail and Kells, which barely go beyond lists of sees, it is scarcely surprising that historians have tended to focus on diocesan structures as one of the main achievements of the reform movement. Yet other matters were enacted at those synods: as the brief summary of the synod of Kells in the Annals of the Four Masters indicates, concubinage, church dues and payment of tithes were all matters on which legislation was passed.[10] For the council of Cashel in 1171/72 a set of Latin decrees is preserved by Gerald of Wales in his *Expugnatio Hibernica*, *ca* 1189, though not without some glossing on his part, writing as an apologist for Anglo-Norman intervention in Ireland.[11] For the provincial synod held in 1186 by the first Anglo-Norman archbishop of Dublin, John Cumin, there survives only an eighteenth-century transcript of a confirmation of the decrees issued by Pope Urban III, with serious gaps in the text,[12] an earlier version having been destroyed in the burning of the Public Record Office of Ireland in 1922.

Very few twelfth-century episcopal *acta* or documents issued in the name of Irish bishops, and not one episcopal register, have survived. Such *acta* could have shed light on episcopal agendas and the implementation of synodal legisla-

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541–2, where the manuscript is dated to the third quarter of the twelfth century. The other contents of the manuscript comprise a copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* and Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*. Cf. J. Crick, *The* Historia Regum Brittanie *of Geoffrey of Monmouth III: A Summary Catalogue of the Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1989), 208–9. For discussion of the list of sees, see Gwynn, *Irish Church*, 223–33. Paparo's Cistercian associations are attested in a letter of Bernard of Clairvaux, who contrasted Paparo's merits as a papal legate with the reprehensible behaviour of Cardinal Jordanus de Ursinis: *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, viii, 207; B. Scott James (transl.), *The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux* (London, 1953), 431–2. Two other twelfth-century Continental lists of Irish sees are to be found in the *Liber Censuum* and in the *Provinciale* of Albinus: P. Fabre and L. Duchesne (eds), *Liber Censuum de l'Église Romaine*, 3 vols (Paris, 1889–1952), i, 234; ii, 101.

9 A *provinciale*, in the words of Gerald of Wales, was a register 'in which were enumerated for the whole Christian world, both the metropolitan churches of each kingdom in order and the episcopal churches suffragan to them': *Giraldi Opera*, iii, 188; R. L. Poole, *Lectures on the History of the Papal Chancery down to the Time of Innocent III* (Cambridge, 1915), 150, 193–6.

10 For a legatine decree of Paparo recorded only by John of Salisbury, see below, p. 72.

11 *Expugnatio*, 98–101. Gerald added that following King Henry II's intervention in Ireland it was proper and fitting that the Irish church should be in conformity with the observances of the English church. Cf. the version of the decrees in the early-fifteenth-century annals derived from a Cistercian set of annals in J. T. Gilbert (ed.), *Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin*, 2 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1884), ii, 271, where the annalist, while drawing on Gerald's *Expugnatio*, rightly did not include that statement as a decree. For these annals, see B. Williams, 'The Dominican annals of Dublin' in S. Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin, II: Proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin Symposium, 2000* (Dublin, 2001), 142–68 at 152–3.

12 Below, p. 81.

tion; and of those *acta* that do survive, most are transcripts in cartularies of monastic houses compiled in the aftermath of Anglo-Norman intervention and are confined chiefly to areas of Anglo-Norman settlement, notably Dublin, Leinster and Meath, where the chances of documentary survival were better.[13] Not only are they restricted regionally to those areas, they are also unremittingly similar: the vast majority concern confirmations of ecclesiastical benefices and lands and otherwise shed little light on episcopal aims or administration, although they do indubitably attest to the assumption of episcopal oversight for church lands. The earliest extant original charter issued by an Irish bishop, that of Lorcán Ua Tuathail (Laurence O'Toole), archbishop of Dublin, for a layman, William Brun, in 1177, escaped destruction only because it came to be preserved among private family title deeds.[14] An original indulgence of Echmílid (Malachias III), bishop of Down (1176–1202), owes its fortuitous survival to its preservation first in the archives of Furness Abbey and subsequently among the Duchy of Lancaster deeds.[15] The texts of only two twelfth-century papal documents to Irish addressees survive which antedate Anglo-Norman intervention. A letter of Pope Gregory VII to Toirdelbach Ua Briain, king of Munster, styled 'king of Ireland' (*ob.* 1086), was copied into a late-twelfth-century collection of papal letters concerning England that has a Worcester provenance.[16] An incomplete text of a letter of Pope Alexander III addressed to an unidentified Irish king thanking him for his reception of a papal envoy sent to summon Irish attendance to a council, most probably the synod of Tours (May 1163), survives in a twelfth-century letter collection from the abbey of St Victor of Paris.[17] Although

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13 The principal cartularies are those of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin; St Thomas's Abbey, Dublin; All Hallows, Dublin; the priory of St John the Baptist, Dublin; and the Irish cartularies of Llanthony Prima (Gwent) and Llanthony Secunda (Gloucester).

14 Below, p. 145, n. 142. For two original late-twelfth-century charters of Cristinus, bishop of Louth, and Donatus, prior of Louth, preserved among the Ormond deeds, see below, p. 140.

15 H. G. Richardson, 'Some Norman monastic foundations in Ireland' in J. A. Watt, J. B. Morrall, and F. X. Martin (eds), *Medieval Studies Presented to Aubrey Gwynn, S. J.* (Dublin, 1961), 29–43 at 32–43. For the text of an indulgence issued by Marcus, *episcopus Cluanensis*, around 1148 in favour of Bath Abbey, see below, p. 52.

16 Sheehy, *Pontificia*, i, no. 2; H. E. J. Cowdrey (ed.), *The* Epistolae Vagantes *of Pope Gregory VII*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1972), no. 57.

17 L. Falkenstein, 'Ein vergessener Brief Alexanders III an einen "rex Hibernorum" ', *Archivium Historiae Pontificiae*, 10 (1972), 107–62; M. P. Sheehy, *When the Normans Came to Ireland* (Cork, 1975), 133–4. The letter lacks its protocol and dating clause, which precludes secure dating. It is transcribed within a section of a twelfth-century letter collection that is headed *Cardinalium* and consists of *acta* issued by cardinals and legates. An allusion to the abbot of Mellifont, who had presented *iustis peticionibus* at the papal curia on behalf of the unnamed *rex Hibernorum*, indicates that it postdates the foundation of that house in 1142. Of the three post-1142 papally convened councils, Reims in 1148, Tours in May 1163, and the third Lateran council of 1179, Tours is the most likely. On the letter collection, see G. Teske, *Die Briefsammlungen des 12. Jahrhunderts in St.Viktor/Paris: Entstehung, Überlieferung und Bedeutung für die Geschichte der Abtei*, Studien und Dokumente der Gallia Pontificia, 2 (Bonn, 1993).

there is no evidence from Irish sources that churchmen from Ireland were present at the synod of Tours, two Continental chroniclers, Hugh of Poitiers (*ob.* 1167)[18] and Romuald of Salerno (*ob. ca* 1187)[19] mentioned Irish participation. Certainly, it is not unreasonable to assume that Gilla Críst (Christianus) Ua Connairche, bishop of Lismore and resident papal legate, would have attended.[20] Gerald of Wales's *Expugnatio Hibernica* appears to be the source for all known copies of Pope Adrian IV's notorious privilege, *Laudabiliter* (1155), authorising King Henry II to undertake a conquest of Ireland,[21] while the three letters of Pope

18 *Inde Turonicam metropolim urbem adiit et concilium ibidem tenuit omnium episcoporum Lugdunensium, Narbonensium, Viennensium, Bituricensium, Senonensium, Remenensium, Rothomagensium, Turonensium, Burdegalensium, Auscitanensium, Alpensium, Apenninarum et Maritimarum, centum quinque numero, Cantuariensium etiam atque Eboracensium, Scothorum quoque et Hiberniensium*: R. B. C. Huygens (ed.), *Monumenta Vizeliancensia: Textes Relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Abbaye de Vézelay*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 42 (Turnhout, 1976), 528, lines 632–9; Hugh of Poitiers, *Liber de Libertate Monasterii Vizeliacensis*: MGH, *Scriptores*, 26 (Hanover, 1882), 148. See also Hugh of Poitiers, *The Vézelay Chronicle and Other Documents from MS Auxerre 227 and Elsewhere*; transl. J. Scott and J. O. Ward, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies (Binghamton NY, 1992), 245.

19 *Qui non multo post Turonis universale concilium celebravit, in quo archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbates Anglie, Scozzie, Hyberniae, Hyspaniarum et tocius Gallie convenerunt*: Romuald of Salerno, *Annales* in MGH, *Scriptores*, 19 (Hanover, 1866), 433. For this author, see D. J. A. Matthew, 'Romuald of Salerno' in R. H. C. Davis and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (eds), *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Richard William Southern* (Oxford, 1981), 239–74. Bishops from Ireland are not recorded in the list of participants attached to the Chichester annals, although this is not proof of their non-attendance: R. Somerville, *Pope Alexander III and the Council of Tours (1163): A Study in Ecclesiastical Politics and Institutions in the Twelfth Century* (Berkeley, CA, 1977), 27–9.

20 Gilla Críst was first appointed legate by the Cistercian pope, Eugenius III (1145–53), with whom he had trained at Clairvaux before becoming the first abbot of Mellifont: Gilbert, *Chartularies of St Mary's*, ii, 288. A legation normally lapsed with the death of the pope. Whether Gilla Críst was reappointed by Eugenius's short-lived successor, Anastasius IV (July 1153–December 1154), is unknown, but Gilla Críst is presumably 'the legate' referred to at the consecration of Mellifont in 1157 and the synod of Brí Meic Thaidc in 1158: *AT*, *AU*, *AFM*. He must therefore have been reappointed by Pope Adrian IV (1154–59). There is a reference to the attendance of 'the legate' at the synod of Clane in 1162 (*AT*; the presence of 'the legate' is not recorded in *AU* or *AFM*), suggesting that he had been reappointed by Alexander III (1159–81) no later than that year. For details of his career, see M. T. Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters: Texts and Contexts* (Oxford, 2005), 288. If the monks of Clairvaux made a request for the canonisation of Malachy of Armagh at the synod of Tours, as suggested by C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250*, Oxford History of the Christian Church (Oxford, 1989), 219, then the presence of Gilla Críst, not only as papal legate but as former first abbot of Mellifont, would have been especially appropriate; cf. C. Waddell, 'Two St Malachy offices from Clairvaux' in *Bernard of Clairvaux: Studies Presented to Dom Jean Leclercq*, Cistercian Studies Series, 23 (Washington, DC, 1973), 123–59 at 138. However, the earliest conclusive evidence of a petition for Malachy's canonisation dates from 1173: Letter of Tromund, abbot of Chiaravalle, to Gerard, abbot of Clairvaux in Migne, *PL*, clxxxv, 626CD. See also E. W. Kemp, 'Pope Alexander III and the canonization of saints', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Series 4, 27 (1945), 13–28 at 22; idem, *Canonization and Authority in the Western Church* (Oxford, 1948), 83–5, 90.

21 *Expugnatio*, 144–7. The most recent discussion is that of A. J. Duggan, '*Totius christianitatis caput*: the pope and the princes' in B. Bolton and A. J. Duggan (eds), *Adrian IV, the English Pope*

Alexander III written respectively to the Irish bishops, Irish kings and Henry II in the wake of Henry's expedition to Ireland in 1171–2[22] survive only in the early-thirteenth-century Little Black Book of the Exchequer, a collection of transcripts of twelfth-century diplomatic documents and other miscellaneous items compiled as a book of royal rights and precedents for the use of the English crown. Between 1172 and the accession of Pope Innocent III in 1198, when the number increases substantially because of surviving papal registers, only twenty papal letters to Irish recipients survive in cartulary copies, exemplifications or antiquarian transcripts, with a heavy concentration on beneficiaries with associations in or near Dublin.[23]

Aside from the setting-up of territorially delimited dioceses associated with the synods of Ráith Bressail and Kells, the other aspect of the reform movement that has received sustained attention has been the links of a number of Irish bishops with the see of Canterbury under its archbishops Lanfranc (1070–89), Anselm (1093–1109), Ralph (1114–22) and Theobald (1139–61).[24] Again, that theme has been largely determined by the extant evidence, notably a body of material that was preserved by the church of Canterbury, which pursued a very active recording strategy in support of its claims to primacy. The professions of obedience sworn by four successive bishops of Dublin – Gilla Pátraic (Patricius) in 1074, Donngus (Donatus) Ua hAingliu in 1085, Samuel Ua hAingliu in 1096, and Gréne (Gregorius) in 1121 – by Máel Ísu (Malchus) Ua hAinmire of

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    (1154–1159): Studies and Texts (Aldershot, 2003), 105–56 at 138–52. See also M. Haren, '*Laudabiliter*: text and context' in M. T. Flanagan and J. A. Green (eds), *Charters and Charter Scholarship in Britain and Ireland* (London, 2005), 140–63. For the view that the text of *Laudabiliter* provided by Ralph of Diss (W. Stubbs (ed.), *Radulphi de Diceto Opera historica*, 2 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1876), i, 300–301) is derived from Gerald of Wales, see A. Duggan, 'The making of a myth: Giraldus Cambrensis, *Laudabiliter*, and Henry II's lordship of Ireland', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, Series 3, 4 (2007), 107–58 at 115–16. Gerald also described an otherwise unrecorded synod convened in 1185 by the bishop of Meath, who summoned neighbouring bishops and abbots to investigate an account by a priest of an encounter with a werewolf that had occurred around 1183, following which the priest, according to Gerald, was dispatched to the pope with letters under the seals of the bishops and abbots who had been present: *Giraldi Opera*, v, 104; Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, transl. J. J. O'Meara (Harmondsworth, 1982), 72.

22 Sheehy, *Pontificia*, i, nos 5–7.

23 Details in Sheehy, *Pontificia*, i, nos 10–31. The paucity may be contrasted with that for another peripheral area, Scandinavia, where five original papal letters survive from Sweden, three from Denmark and two from Norway, and, including copies, there are altogether some 200 known letters before 1198: A. Winroth, 'Papal letters to Scandinavia and their preservation' in A. J. Kosto and A. Winroth (eds), *Charters, Cartularies and Archives: The Preservation and Transmission of Documents in the Medieval West: Proceedings of a Colloquium of the Commission Internationale de Diplomatique (Princeton and New York, 16–18 September 1999)* (Toronto, 2002), 175–85.

24 The most recent discussion is that of M. Brett, 'Canterbury's perspective on church reform and Ireland, 1070–1115' in D. Bracken and D. Ó Riain-Raedel (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century: Reform and Renewal* (Dublin, 2006), 13–35.

Waterford in 1096 and by Patricius of Limerick in 1140 were each recorded on rolls of professions of obedience kept at Canterbury.[25] Letters written to Irish bishops and kings by archbishops of Canterbury, as well as letters received by them from Irish correspondents, also owe their preservation to Canterbury activists who compiled letter collections of both Lanfranc's and Anselm's correspondence.[26]

The Canterbury-preserved sources have undoubtedly skewed the evidence. A notable instance is the instrumental role that has been attributed to Canterbury in the foundation and development of the Hiberno-Norse see of Dublin. According to a fourteenth-century in-house account of the foundation of Holy Trinity Cathedral (later to be known as Christ Church), its secular patron was Sitric Silkbeard, king of Dublin (989–1036), and its first bishop was Dúnán (Donatus),[27] whose death is recorded in the annals in 1074.[28] Dúnán's successor, Gilla Pátraic, was consecrated at Canterbury in 1074 on the testimony of his profession of obedience preserved at Canterbury, but there is no conclusive evidence that, in seeking consecration there, Gilla Pátraic was following in Dúnán's footsteps; and, given Canterbury's proactive record-keeping, its silence in relation to Dunán must be regarded as telling.[29]

Recent analyses of two hitherto little-noticed lists of relics of Holy Trinity Cathedral have drawn attention to evidence for a connection with the church of Cologne that must have dated back to the eleventh century.[30] While James Henthorn Todd, writing in 1844, had highlighted those relics with Irish associations possessed by Holy Trinity, the *Bachall Ísu*, or 'Staff of Jesus',[31] and the 'marble portable altar' of St Patrick, relics of St Brendan, the bones of St Patrick and St Brigit, and relics of Archbishop Lorcán Ua Tuathail, he dismissed 'the remaining relics as they are not specially connected with Irish history [and] do

25 M. Richter (ed.), *Canterbury Professions*, Canterbury and York Society, 67 (Torquay, 1973), nos 36, 42, 51, 54, 69, 81.

26 Details in M. Lapidge and R. Sharpe, *A Bibliography of Celtic–Latin Literature, 400–1200* (Dublin, 1985), nos 617–26.

27 A. Gwynn, 'Some unpublished texts from the Black Book of Christ Church, Dublin', *Analecta Hibernica*, 16 (1946), 281–337 at 310–11; *primus episcopus Dublin et fundator ecclesie nostre* in *Book of Obits*, 23, 51.

28 *AT, AFM, CS* 1071=1074, *AClon*, 181. Cf. below, n. 41.

29 M. T. Flanagan, *Irish Society, Anglo-Norman Settlers, Angevin Kingship: Interactions in Ireland in the Late Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1989), 8–13; M. Philpott, 'Some interactions between the English and Irish churches', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 20 (1998), 187–204 at 192.

30 R. Ó Floinn, 'The foundation relics of Christ Church cathedral and the origins of the diocese of Dublin' in S. Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin VII: Proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin Symposium, 2005* (Dublin, 2006), 89–102; P. Ó Riain, 'Dublin's oldest book? A list of saints "made in Germany" ' in S. Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin, V: Proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin Symposium, 2003* (Dublin, 2004), 52–72, which details the martyrological evidence that demonstrates a Cologne connection during the eleventh century; idem, 'The calendar and martyrology of Christ Church cathedral, Dublin' in R. Gillespie and R. Refaussé (eds), *The Medieval Manuscripts of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin* (Dublin, 2006), 33–59.

31 On this relic, see C. Bourke, *Patrick: The Archaeology of a Saint* (Belfast, 1993), 18–20.

not call for any particular notice'.[32] Todd thereby deprived himself of important evidence bearing on the origins of Holy Trinity. Five of the listed relics testify to an association between the cathedral church of Dublin and the church of Cologne, a connection that is indeed indirectly supported by annalistic evidence. The relic-list entered under 31 July in the martyrology, the day on which the feast of the relics was commemorated, is prefaced by a statement that the relics had lain in a casket (*capsa*) from the time of the first bishop, Donatus, that is Dúnán (*ca* 1028–74), until the time of Bishop Gregorius, that is, Gréne (1121–61), who had the casket placed in a new shrine (*scrinium*).[33] A *terminus post quem* for their acquisition is provided by the inclusion of relics of St Heribert, bishop of Cologne, who died in 1021, and of King Olaf of Norway, who died in battle on 29 July 1030 and whose body was translated on 3 August 1031, thereby inaugurating his cult as a Christian martyred king. The relics therefore had to have been acquired by the cathedral church of Dublin sometime after 1031 but before Bishop Dúnán's own death in 1074. The relics of the 11,000 virgins and of St Pinnosa (one of the 11,000 virgins) are especially telling, since both cults were little known outside the diocese of Cologne. Relics of the staff and chains of St Peter also suggest a link with Cologne as, before the enshrinement of relics of the Three Kings in 1164, the former constituted the principal relics of Cologne cathedral. The sandal relic of St Sylvester is likewise suggestive of a connection with Cologne, which possessed the skull of Pope Sylvester I (314–35). Crucial is the fact that the relics were acquired during the episcopate of Dúnán. Not only were there Irish communities following the Benedictine rule during the eleventh century at St Pantaleon in Cologne, where Elias (alias Ailill) of Mucknoe (co. Monaghan), died as 'head of the monks of the Irish in Cologne' in 1042,[34] and at Groß Sankt Martin in Cologne,[35] but references in Irish annals testify to links between Cologne and Leinster and Brega (in co. Meath) around the time of the foundation of Holy Trinity, Dublin, 1028×36.[36] Donnchad mac Gilla Mochonna, abbot of Dunshaughlin in Brega, died in Cologne in 1027, while Bróen, son of

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32 *Book of Obits*, xxiii, lxvi–lxviii, 3–4, 141. Todd's remarks related specifically to the early-sixteenth-century list that prefaces the Book of Obits, but applied equally to the list entered under 31 July in the thirteenth-century martyrology in the composite manuscript that contains both texts.

33 *Book of Obits*, 3–4, 141. Ó Riain, 'Dublin's oldest book?', 69, suggested that the relics might have arrived in Dublin on 31 July, but it is more likely that a solemn liturgical ceremony of translation of the new shrine took place on that day. The re-enshrinement may have been associated with the elevation of the see of Dublin to archiepiscopal status at the synod of Kells, 1152.

34 *AU²* 1042.7, *AFM*.

35 J. Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland: An Introduction and Guide* (New York, 1929), 610–13, for Irishmen in the Rhineland area; Ó Riain, 'Dublin's oldest book?', 65–6.

36 The dates are determined by the circumstance that King Sitric Silkbeard, founder of Holy Trinity, according to its in-house tradition, undertook a pilgrimage to Rome in 1028, as recorded in Irish annals (*AU²* 1028.7, *AI* 1028.5, *AT*, *ALC*, *AFM*, *CS* 1026=1028) and was deposed in 1036 (*AT*). He died in 1042: *AI* 1042.1, *AT*, *AFM*.

Máel Morda, king of Leinster, died there in 1052.[37] It was at Cologne on 1 August 1056 that the chronicler Máel Brigte, otherwise Marianus Scottus, entered the monastic life on the Continent.[38] Of fifteen relics in the list entered in the martyrology under 31 July, three are apostolic (two of Peter, one of Andrew), five are episcopal (Audeon of Rouen, Basil of Caesarea, David of St Davids, Germanus, probably of Man rather than Auxerre, and Heribert of Cologne), one is papal (Sylvester), and one is of a Scandinavian king (Olaf). This has led Raghnall Ó Floinn to suggest that this particular assemblage, with its apostolic and papal reflexes, may have constituted the foundation relics of the new cathedral, being chosen to emphasise the apostolic succession of Dublin's first bishop.[39] Some of the relics could have been acquired by King Sitric on his pilgrimage to Rome in 1028,[40] but the possibility should also be considered that Dúnán himself may have had a direct connection with Cologne, conceivably as a member of one of the Irish communities there.[41] While no certainty can be achieved, the new light shed on the early history of Holy Trinity, Dublin, by this hitherto-overlooked relic list serves to highlight how dependent historians of the twelfth-century Irish church are on the vagaries of source survival. At the very least, the relic list allows for formative influences in the foundation of Dublin Cathedral other than those of the church of Canterbury.

Assessing the relative influence of Cologne and Canterbury on the foundation of the cathedral church of Dublin, and more generally of Continental and English influence on the wider Irish church, remains frustratingly difficult owing to the fragmentary nature of the evidence, but there is little doubt that sources generated by, or preserved at, Canterbury may have distorted perceptions about its impact on the Irish church. It is certain that Dúnán's successor, Gilla Pátraic, sought consecration from Lanfranc at Canterbury in 1074, though the supposition that Gilla Pátraic had prior English connections as a monk at Worcester Abbey[42] is

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37 *AU²* 1018.2, 1027.8, 1052.3, *AFM* 1052. Broen had been blinded by Sitric, king of Dublin, in 1018. The almost total devastation of Cologne is recorded in *AT* 1045.

38 G. Waitz (ed.), 'Mariani Scotti Chronicon' in MGH, *Scriptores*, v (Hanover, 1844), 558.

39 Ó Floinn, 'The foundation relics of Christ Church', 96–101.

40 Cf. the death-notice for John XIX (1024–32) recorded as 'Romanus papa Romae quievit' in *AT*. Before his election, John XIX, who succeeded his brother, Benedict VIII (1012–24), was known as Romanus. The form of the entry is suggestive of Roman contacts.

41 Ó Riain, 'The calendar', 51. That Dúnán merited a death-notice in the chronicle of Marianus Scottus may be indicative of his Continental contacts: Waitz, 'Mariani Scotti Chronicon', 561 (1096=1074). Suggestive of links with a Benedictine community is the 'relics of the holy father, Benedict': *Book of Obits*, 141. The possible German parallels for the eleventh-century crypt of Holy Trinity, Dublin, suggested by T. O'Keeffe, *Romanesque Ireland: Architecture and Ideology in the Twelfth Century* (Dublin, 2003), 99–101, deserve further consideration in light of the evidence adduced from the relic list.

42 Five poems and a prose treatise attributed to *sanctus Patricius episcopus* that survive in English and Continental manuscripts were edited by A. Gwynn (ed.), *The Writings of Bishop Patrick (1074–1084)*, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, 1 (Dublin, 1955). Gwynn identified the author as Gilla Pátraic and further assumed his connection with Worcester on the basis of three glosses in the

less certain and has been queried by Martin Brett, who has highlighted the very slender foundations on which it rests and emphasised that all the early authorities suggest that Gilla Pátraic went to Canterbury in 1074 directly from Ireland.[43] If so, Gilla Pátraic may be assumed to have been trained under Dúnán, which would further weaken the assumption of predominantly English influence in the formation of the see of Dublin, at any rate under its first two bishops.[44] Gilla Pátraic's name, 'Servant of Patrick', affords evidence for his devotion to the Patrician cult, which may also be suggestive of training in Ireland rather than England.

Southern German connections, with implications for another route of transmission of reform ideology to the Irish church, are attested from no later than the 1070s and were sufficiently substantive to occasion the foundation in the early decades of the twelfth century of a series of Benedictine monasteries that were staffed by Irish personnel and supported materially by Irish royal benefactors.[45] They came to be known as *Schottenklöster*, monasteries of *Scotti*, the term by which the Irish were generally described in Continental sources. Numbers of individual Irishmen (who still await detailed prosopographical study), were to be found at various locations in Germany during the tenth and eleventh centuries and there were certainly communities of Irish monks at Cologne, as already noted,[46] and at Rome[47] during the eleventh century. What is significant about the *Schottenklöster* is their institutional permanency, which resulted in the maintenance of sustained links with Ireland, and more particularly Munster, the kings of which were notably generous benefactors during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[48] The foundation of the monastery of Sankt Jakob in Regensburg, which

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prologue to the prose treatise, *Concerning the Three Dwelling Places of the Soul*, that mentioned Bishop Wulfstan twice and 'my comrade, Aldwin' once: ibid., 103–4. This constitutes slender evidence that Gilla Pátraic, who cannot be certainly identified with *sanctus Patricius episcopus*, had been a monk at Worcester. There are more than 100 copies extant in manuscripts of twelfth- and early-thirteenth-century date alone of the *Three Dwelling Places of the Soul*, none of Irish provenance.

43 Brett, 'Canterbury's perspective', 33–5.

44 According to the *Acta Lanfranci*, the third bishop of Dublin, Donngus (Donatus) Ua hAingliu, had been a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, while his nephew, Samuel, who succeeded him, was trained at St Albans: M. T. Flanagan, 'Ua hAingliu, Donngus' in *ODNB*, lv, 842–3.

45 See H. Flachenecker, *Schottenklöster: Irische Benediktinerkonvente im Hochmittelalterlichen Deutschland*, Quellen und Forschungen aus der Gebiet der Geschichte, Neue Folge, 18 (Paderborn, 1995). The sources relevant to Ireland are discussed in D. Ó Riain-Raedel, 'Cashel and Germany: the documentary evidence' in D. Bracken and D. Ó Riain-Raedel (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century: Reform and Renewal* (Dublin, 2006), 176–217; eadem, ' "Wie der deutsche Kaiser": Sakraltopographie und Krönungskirche in Cashel/Irland' in C. Ehlers (ed.), *Deutsche Königspfalzen: Beiträge zu ihrer Historischen und Archäologischen Erforschung, 8: Places of Power – Orte der Herrschaft – Lieux du Pouvoir* (Göttingen, 2007), 313–71. I am very grateful to Dr Ó Riain-Raedel for providing me with a copy of this article.

46 Above, pp. 8–9.

47 Below, p. 230.

48 For Irish personnel, as attested by the indubitably Irish name-forms Dermitius, Finanus, Donellus, Declanus and others, see the lists in Flachenecker, *Schottenklöster*, 382–91.

became the mother-house of a filiation of *Schottenklöster*, dates from 1112, when the community received a charter from the emperor, Henry V, though an earlier group of *Scottigenae* at the church of Weih Sankt Peter had already received a privilege of protection from Emperor Henry IV in 1089.[49] Recent work on Regensburg manuscripts, including a fragment of a martyrology recovered from a bookbinding which, on palaeographical evidence, dates from the second third or, at the latest, from the third quarter of the eleventh century, suggests that there was already a significant Irish presence at Regensburg by the 1070s and possibly even the 1060s.[50] The single folio of thirty lines covers the period between 14 and 25 April and includes commemorations for six insular saints, Tassach, Ruadán of Lorrha, Donnán of Eigg, Laisrén of Leighlin, Máel Ruba of Bangor and Ibar of Begéire. Given that the fragment covers only twelve days this is an impressive list of lesser-known insular saints. Evidence surviving in Germany is therefore vital testimony to the activity of Irishmen abroad during the eleventh century, and indirectly of external influences that must have reached the Irish church, even though there is no matching evidence in Irish sources.

A series of reformist texts was produced within the *Schottenkongregation*, the most widely disseminated of which was the Vision of Tnugdal, written in 1149 in the *Schottenkloster* of Regensburg.[51] It described an Otherworld vision that had reputedly been experienced by Tnugdal, a layman and native of Munster, who recounted his near-death experience in his native language to its author, *frater* Marcus, while the latter was on a visit to Ireland. Tnugdal had fallen ill on a visit to Cork and lay unconscious for three days, during which he had an out-of-body experience. On recovering consciousness he related it to Marcus, who was subsequently asked by the abbess of St Paul's in Regensburg to translate it *de barbarico in Latinum* – to write up in Latin the account that he had heard from Tnugdal in Irish.[52] From the viewpoint of both its literary quality and its wide dissemination the Vision of Tnugdal may be regarded as the most important Otherworld vision of the central Middle Ages, attracting more widespread interest than any other similar version of vision literature. It owed its popularity

49 D. von Gladiss, *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, ii, MGH, DD 6 (Berlin, 1941), no. 403, 533–4.

50 E. Hochholzer, 'Ein Martyrologfragment aus Regensburg mit irischen Heiligen aus dem 11. Jahrhundert', *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige*, 116 (2005), 33–66; P. Ó Riain, *Feastdays of the Saints: A History of Irish Martyrologies*, Société des Bollandistes, Subsidia Hagiographica, 86 (Brussels, 2006), 232–7. For manuscript evidence of Irish scribal activity at Regensburg and Würzburg during the eleventh century, see H. Hoffmann, 'Irische Schreiber in Deutschland im 11. Jahrhundert', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 59 (2003), 97–120. For forty-eight fragments of twelfth-century liturgical manuscripts from the *Schottenklöster* of Regensburg and Vienna, including remnants of chants for the feasts of SS. Patrick, Brigit and Kilian, see M. Czernin, 'Fragments of liturgical chant from medieval Irish monasteries in continental Europe', *Early Music*, 28, No 2 (May 2000), 217–24.

51 See *Visio Tnugdali*, *1–*57; J.-M. Picard and Y. de Pontfarcy (transl.), *The Vision of Tnugdal* (Dublin, 1989), 109–57.

52 *Visio Tnugdali*, *2.

to the remarkably creative imagination of its author, who achieved a level of invention that remained unequalled during the medieval period. An engaging and lively text results from the shifts between reportorial narration and dramatic dialogue, a form of *acallam*, generating a contrast between reason and emotion. Over 170 Latin manuscripts, twelve of twelfth-century date, and numerous vernacular translations survive, yet not one is of Irish provenance,[53] notwithstanding a demonstrable Irish audience for the text: although written at the request of an abbess of a Regensburg convent it was also intended to be relevant to Irish clergy and laity, as evidenced by its allusions to named Irish ecclesiastics and kings. In light of the paucity of extant texts generated within Ireland, the Vision of Tnugdal sheds valuable light on the reformist agenda as disseminated in Irish overseas circles. It reflects contemporary eschatological concerns that are attested in Irish vernacular texts and is also valuable in the context of what has been termed 'the birth of purgatory'.[54] Although the actual term *purgatorium* is not used, an intermediate zone between heaven and hell that displays purgatorial qualities is described. This region has a two-fold character, one part belonging to the infernal region, the other to the paradisiac, and its inhabitants have either the hopeless knowledge of salvation or the prospect of attaining it after a period of suffering. The reformist agenda is very evident in the different categories of persons to be found in the various levels of hell, heaven and the intermediate zone, together with descriptions of their good and evil deeds.[55] Its identification of named individuals, both high-status Irish clergy and kings, who were to be found in heaven or in prospect of its attainment, is unique to this text.

Two necrologies (registers of death-notices) maintained in *Schottenklöster*

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53 The early-sixteenth-century Irish translation by Muirghuis mac Phaidín Uí Mhaoil Chonaire (*ob.* 1543), compiler of the Book of Fenagh, must be deemed too late to count as evidence for the circulation of the *Visio* in Ireland during the medieval period. For the Irish text, see V. H. Friedel and K. Meyer (eds), *La Vision de Tondale (Tnugdal): Textes Français, Anglo-Normand et Irlandais* (Paris, 1907), 87–155. For Ó Maoil Chonaire's compilation of the Book of Fenagh, see P. Walsh, 'The Book of Fenagh' in C. Ó Lochlainn (ed.), *Irish Men of Learning: Studies by Paul Walsh* (Dublin, 1947), 49–73; K. Simms, 'The Donegal poems in the Book of Fenagh', *Ériu*, 58 (2008), 37–53 at 37–40.

54 J. Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*; transl. A. Goldhammer (Chicago, 1984). Le Goff's emphasis on the 'birth' of purgatory as a twelfth-century phenomenon has been criticised for its proposition that purgatory as a distinct state or place between heaven and hell did not exist in the imagination of western Christendom until the noun *purgatorium* came into use, thereby downplaying its more gradual evolution. See G. R. Edwards, 'Purgatory: "birth": or evolution?', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 36 (1985), 643–6. For criticism of Le Goff's interpretation of another text with Irish associations, the *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*, see R. Easting, 'Purgatory and the earthly paradise in the *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*', *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses*, 37 (1986), 23–48; C. Watkins, 'Doctrine, politics and purgation: the vision of Tnútghal and the vision of Owein at St Patrick's Purgatory', *Journal of Medieval History*, 22 (1996), 225–36 at 232–4. For a now lost version of *St Patrick's Purgatory* attributed to David Scottus of Würzburg (*ob.* 1137), suggesting that an earlier account was available in southern Germany, see below p. 226, n. 164.

55 See further below, pp. 198, 215–16.

afford evidence for liturgical commemoration of high-ranking Irish ecclesiastics and lay benefactors and of continuing links with Ireland into the mid thirteenth century. A number of Irish kings and bishops were remembered and prayed for, including those named kings whom Tnugdal had seen in his Otherworld vision.[56] Although there are no extant necrologies or *libri memoriales* of Irish provenance, the Book of Obits of Holy Trinity Cathedral, Dublin, which although in its present form dates from the early sixteenth century, contains entries which go back to the late eleventh and twelfth centuries and testify that similar compilations were being kept at that time in some Irish churches.[57] Such necrologies afford evidence for the importance placed by both clergy and laity on intercessory prayer for the dead.[58] The feast days of Irish saints were also incorporated into *Schottenklöster* martyrologies,[59] while Lives of Irish saints found their way into the Great Austrian Legendary.[60]

A set of annals maintained in the *Schottenstift* at Vienna incorporated obituary notices for kings of Thomond and Desmond during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.[61] It reflects the fact that the Irish foundations in Germany were supported financially by contributions from Irish kings and ecclesiastics during the twelfth century, with a particular regional focus on Munster, and that there must have been regular traffic between Ireland and southern Germany, even though there is no matching evidence of Irish provenance for that interaction.

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56 D. Ó Riain-Raedel, 'Das Nekrolog der irischen Schottenklöster: Edition der Handschrift Vat. Lat. 10100 mit einer Untersuchung der hagiographischen und liturgischen Handschriften der Schottenklöster', *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bistums Regensburg*, 26 (1992), 7–119; eadem, 'Irish kings and bishops in the *memoria* of the German *Schottenklöster*' in P. Ní Chatháin and M. Richter (eds), *Irland und Europa: die Kirche im Frühmittelalter/Ireland and Europe: The Early Church* (Stuttgart, 1984), 390–403.

57 The death-days are memorialised of Dunán, bishop of Dublin (*ob.* 1074), Samuel, bishop of Dublin (*ob.* 1121), Gréne, archbishop of Dublin (*ob.* 1161), Malachias, bishop of Kildare (*ob.* 1175), Earl Richard fitz Gilbert (*ob.* 1176), Gervasius, prior of Holy Trinity (*ob. ca* 1177), Lorcán Ua Tuathail, archbishop of Dublin (*ob.* 1180), Macrobius, bishop of Glendalough (*ob. ante* 1192); while Cristinus, *sacerdos et canonicus noster*, is likely to be the sacristan of that name who witnessed two charters 1176×77: *Book of Obits*, 21, 23, 31, 42, 45, 51. For Gervasius, see J. T. Gilbert (ed.), *Register of the Abbey of St Thomas, Dublin*, Rolls Series (London, 1889), 161, 285; M. P. Sheehy, 'The *registrum novum*, a manuscript of Holy Trinity Cathedral: the medieval charters', *Repertorium Novum*, 3 (1963–4), 249–81 at 258; M. J. McEnery and R. Refaussé (eds), *Christ Church Deeds* (Dublin, 2001), 123, no. 468(a); for Cristinus see M. P. Sheehy, 'Diplomatica: unpublished medieval charters and letters relating to Ireland', *Archivium Hibernicum*, 25 (1962), 123–35 at 127, 128; Sheehy, '*Registrum novum*', 258; McEnery and Refaussé, *Christ Church Deeds*, 123–4, nos 468 (a) and (f). For the manuscript, see C. Lennon, 'The Book of Obits of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin' R. Gillespie and R. Refaussé (eds), *The Medieval Manuscripts of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin* (Dublin, 2006), 163–82.

58 See below, pp. 198–202.

59 These are listed in Ó Riain, *Feastdays*, 234–43.

60 See D. Ó Riain-Raedel, 'Aspects of the promotion of Irish saints' cults in medieval Germany', *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, 39 (1982), 220–34 at 230–34; below, p. 93, n. 5.

61 D. Ó Riain-Raedel, 'Twelfth- and thirteenth-century Irish annals in Vienna', *Peritia*, 2 (1983), 125–36.

Sources either generated or preserved outside Ireland are therefore of vital importance, given the paucity of Irish-transmitted evidence bearing on the twelfth-century Irish church. The *Schottenklöster* followed the Benedictine rule and, although subsequently overshadowed by the introduction of Cistercian monasticism into Ireland under the auspices of St Malachy with the foundation of Mellifont Abbey (co. Louth) in 1142, there also can be little doubt that a Benedictine contribution to monastic renewal has been underestimated.[62]

Hagiography, or saints' lives, makes an important contribution to tracing reformist ideas in the absence of other more factual types of evidence. Were it not for Bernard of Clairvaux's near contemporary Life of Malachy of 1148×53, it would be virtually impossible to reconstruct Malachy's career as a leading reformer on the basis of the meagre entries in the Irish annals, or to provide a context for how Cistercian monasticism came to be introduced into Ireland. Although Bernard wrote the Life at the request of Congan, abbot of *Surium* (Inishlounaght, co. Tipperary),[63] there is no extant copy of Irish provenance, even though every Irish Cistercian house is likely to have had one – highlighting the ravages wrought on medieval Irish monastic libraries. Bernard acknowledged that his Life of Malachy was based on material supplied to him from Ireland, which gives it added value in that it affords indirect testimony to hagiographical activity in the twelfth-century Irish church. It may be inferred that the material supplied to Bernard by his Irish informants was already patterned on a Martinian model.[64] The record-keeping activity of Clairvaux also accounts for the preservation of a series of letters written by Bernard to Malachy and to Irish monks after his death, two sermons preached by Bernard about Malachy, and a hymn composed to commemorate him.[65] Another aspect of Malachy's overseas connections, his visit to the monastery of Arrouaise (in Picardy) in 1140, which resulted in the introduction of the Augustinian rule according to the Arrouaisian observance into the Irish church, is known only because it was recorded at Arrouaise.[66]

Valuable indications of reformist aspirations in relation to the episcopate can be recovered also from the Latin Life of St Flannán of Killaloe, which offers a model of an ideal bishop and was written around 1162×67 by a cleric who

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62 See further below, pp. 99, 118, 158–9, 160–1. The career and writings of Honorius Augustodunensis, who had links with the *Schottenkloster* of Regensburg, have not been taken account of here. While a number of scholars, notably Richard Southern and Roger Reynolds, argued for his Irish origins, Valerie Flint was emphatically of the view that Honorius was not Irish: V. I. Flint, 'Honorius Augustodunensis' in *ODNB*, xxvii, 911–12; eadem, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, Authors of the Middle Ages, 6 (Aldershot, 1995). More intensive study of his writings, which survive in numerous manuscripts of twelfth-century date, some either unedited or requiring re-editing, is required.

63 *Vita Malachiae*, 309, 369; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 13, 81.

64 Below, pp. 101–3.

65 *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, iii, 293–378, 517–26, v, 417–23, vi/I, 50–55, viii, 282–3, 300–302, 335–7, 512–14.

66 Below, pp. 122–3.

described himself as a vowed servant of Flannán, and was probably attached to the church of Killaloe, although he had evidently spent time on the Continent.[67] A group of Latin Lives of saints whose church foundations were endorsed as episcopal sees in the twelfth-century diocesan arrangements attests to the reworking of older material in order to update it and promote specifically episcopal leadership. In this category may be placed a twelfth-century redaction of the Latin Life of Máedóc of Ferns,[68] as well as Lives of Bishops Declán of Ardmore, Eógan of Ardstraw, Tigernach of Clones, Mac Nisse of Connor, Colmán of Dromore and Laisrén of Leighlin, which were probably intended in part for liturgical use as lectionary material, and a number of which may emanate from the same hagiographical workshop.[69] The early-twelfth-century vernacular life of Colmán mac Lúacháin of Lann (co. Westmeath) is primarily concerned to detail the possessions of the church of Lann and the dues and services owed to it by the laity, but it does nonetheless provide some information on what might be termed popular religion or lay religiosity. Its different character may be explained by its intended audience, for it appears to have been compiled primarily for preaching to a lay congregation on the feast of the saint, possibly more specifically the lay tenants on lands of the church of Lann.[70] Its redaction probably dates from around the time of the discovery in 1122 in the graveyard at Lann of the body of Colmán mac Lúacháin.[71]

Another vernacular Life, *Betha Coluim Cille*, composed at Derry 1150×70, affords evidence for the restructuring of the Columban *familia* and the assumption of headship by the church of Derry, and has been described as a 'response to the ideals of the twelfth-century reform movement'.[72] Drawing on the well-established Columban hagiographical tradition, it refashions the past in a new image, more in conformity with twelfth-century concerns. An early-twelfth-century elaboration by the otherwise unknown hagiographer Conchubranus (probably a Latinisation of Conchobar), of an older Life of the female saint

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67 Below, p. 92.

68 C. Doherty, 'The transmission of the cult of St Máedhóg' in P. Ní Chatháin and M. Richter (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Texts and Transmission/Irland und Europa im Früheren Mittelalter: Texte und Überlieferung* (Dublin, 2002), 268–83 at 271–3.

69 Heist, *Vitae SS Hib.*, 107–11, 340–43, 357–60, 400–407; Plummer, *Vitae SS Hib.*, ii, 32–59; R. Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives: An Introduction to* Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae (Oxford (1991), 30–34. To these may probably be added the partially preserved Life of St Mac Cairthinn of Clogher: Heist, *Vitae SS Hib.*, 343–6.

70 K. Meyer (ed.), *Betha Colmáin maic Lúacháin: Life of Colmán son of Lúachan, Edited from a Manuscript in the Library of Rennes with Translation, Introduction, Notes, and Indices*, Todd Lecture Series, 17 (Dublin, 1911), 4–5, 96–7 and passim. A lay audience is suggested also by its concern to address women; see below, pp. 71, 188, 241. A twelfth-century date has also been proposed for the vernacular Life of Molaga: M. Herbert, 'Observations on the life of Molaga' in J. Carey, M. Herbert, and K. Murray (eds), *Cín Chille Cúile: Texts, Saints and Places. Essays in Honour of Pádraig Ó Riain* (Aberystwyth, 2004), 127–40.

71 *AU²* 1122.2, *ALC, AFM* 1122.

72 M. Herbert, *Iona, Kells and Derry: The History and Hagiography of a Monastic* Familia (Oxford, 1988), 204–5; edition, translation and discussion of the Life, 180–288. See further below, pp. 167–8.

Monenna (alias Darerca) of Killevy (co. Armagh), that may date back to the seventh or eighth century, offers some insight into the milieu and aspirations of a female religious community around the beginning of the twelfth century.[73] Conchubranus's Life survives uniquely in an English manuscript of early-twelfth-century date emanating from the Benedictine monastery of Burton upon Trent (Staffs.) and results from hagiographical activity in that house. Geoffrey, a notably enterprising abbot of Burton (1114–50), set out to write a Life of the Anglo-Saxon female saint Modwenna, who was believed to be buried at Burton, but about whom very little was known. In response to letters sent by Geoffrey to a 'bishop in Ireland', the abbot secured a *codex de Hibernia*.[74] Drawing on his Irish source, Geoffrey refashioned Conchubranus's Life of Monenna in style and substance for an English audience. The outside limits for Geoffrey's composition are the dates of his abbacy, 1114–50, but it may fall within the narrower date range 1118×35. Either way, Geoffrey's Life provides a *terminus ante quem* for that of Conchubranus. Receipt of the latter text must have exceeded Geoffrey's expectations, in that Conchubranus had already depicted an English dimension to Monenna's career, taking her to the vicinity of the river Trent where she had founded a church and even better still dying in Britain and being buried by divine will at an unnamed location in England rather than in her foundation at Killevy. The significance of Conchubranus's Life is that it attests to hagiographical activity in the early twelfth century and once again illustrates the chance survival of Irish-related evidence in a manuscript of English provenance.

There are indications that a school of homileticists was centred at Armagh, where older hagiographical material was being recast in homiletic form, during the eleventh century.[75] The tripartite Life of Patrick[76] was refashioned as a homily to enable preaching on specific scriptural quotations. Translations from other Latin exegetical and hagiographical material were made into Irish, the

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73 Ulster Society for Medieval Latin Studies, 'The life of St Monenna by Conchubranus edited by the Ulster Society for Medieval Latin Studies', *Seanchas Ard Mhacha*, 9 (1978–9), 250–73; 10 (1980–82), 117–41, 426–54; discussion in C. Harrington, *Women in a Celtic Church: Ireland, 400–1550* (Oxford, 2002), 53, 56, 82–3, 217–19, 231–3. For the earlier Life of Monenna, see Heist, *Vitae SS Hib.*, 83–95.

74 See Geoffrey of Burton, *Life and Miracles of St Modwenna*, ed. R. Bartlett, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 2002), xiii–xvi, 2–4. A concordance of the three versions is provided at xxi.

75 F. Mac Donncha, 'Medieval Irish homilies' in M. McNamara (ed.), *Biblical Studies: The Irish Contribution* (Dublin, 1976), 59–71; Herbert, *Iona*, 194–8. For the early-fifteenth-century manu-script *Leabhar Breac*, which contains most of this material, see M. Herbert, 'Medieval collections of ecclesiastical and devotional materials: *Leabhar Breac*, *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum* and the Book of Fenagh' in B. Cunningham and S. Fitzpatrick (eds), *Treasures of the Royal Irish Academy Library* (Dublin, 2009), 33–5.

76 There is no scholarly consensus on the date of this Life. The problems are outlined in D. N. Dumville, *St Patrick, A.D. 493–1993*, Studies in Celtic History, 13 (Woodbridge, 1993), 255–8. A date *ca* 830 was proposed by F. J. Byrne and P. Francis, 'Two lives of Saint Patrick: vita secunda and vita quarta', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 124 (1994), 5–117 at 7. In his revised edition of *Irish Kings and High-kings* (Dublin, 2001), p. xviii, Byrne suggested that the Life was reworked in the tenth century.

manner of translation indicating that they were intended for listeners rather than readers and for preaching to laity rather than for clerics. Much of this homiletic material and sermon literature still remains to be analysed in detail.[77] As remarked by Gearóid Mac Eoin, 'the relationship of the eleventh-century homiliarium to the ecclesiastical reform movement which was in its initial stages at the time of its compilation, deserves to be investigated'.[78]

There are no twelfth-century canon law manuscripts,[79] notwithstanding the substantial achievements of the Irish church in the field of canon law, as evidenced by the Irish Canon Collection (*Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*), 716×25, which had such a material influence on Continental canon law collections. However, given that not a single copy of Irish provenance survives of the Irish Canon Collection, the absence of twelfth-century canon law manuscripts does not permit the assumption that canon law was neglected by the twelfth-century Irish church. The sole extant reformist tract by an Irish ecclesiastic – Bishop Gillebertus of Limerick's early-twelfth-century treatise on the ecclesiastical grades – exhibits contemporary canon law concerns, including the influence of the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, the first canon law compilation to emphasise the jurisdictional role of primates.[80] Gillebertus's treatise survives only in two manuscripts of English provenance.[81] It is notable for its didactic focus on the parish priest, a group largely ignored in Continental and English reformist literature, which probably explains why the text was found sufficiently useful to be copied in England. Of slightly later date, issued around 1162, a charter of Diarmait Mac Murchada, king of Leinster, in favour of St Mary's Abbey, Ferns, demonstrates awareness on the part of the drafter of the way in which the proprietary claims of lay secular patrons had been transformed by canonists into an approved right for founders, and presupposes knowledge of contemporary canon law.[82] Engagement with canon law must have been a very significant element of the reform movement for which, however, little evidence has survived.

77 A sermon treats of a doctrinal, or moral theme, or comments on the significance of a particular feastday, whereas a homily expounds a biblical text from one of the readings during a Mass.

78 G. Mac Eoin, 'Observations on some Middle-Irish homilies' in P. Ní Chatháin and M. Richter (eds), *Irland und Europa im Früheren Mittelalter/Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Bildung und Literatur/Learning and Literature* (Stuttgart, 1996), 195–211 at 203. See also B. Murdoch, 'Preaching in medieval Ireland: the Irish tradition' in A. J. Fletcher and R. Gillespie (eds), *Irish Preaching, 700–1700* (Dublin, 2001), 40–55.

79 However, see the fragment in an Irish minuscule recovered from a binding of Stephen of Tournai's *Summa super decretum Gratiani*, a work written after Stephen's return from Bologna to Orléans in 1166, in TCD MS 1316, 98–90: *NHI*, i, 544, and plate 56, where William O'Sullivan was of the opinion that the text was probably copied during the lifetime of Stephen of Tournai (*ob.* 1203). The leaf is dated to the first half of the thirteenth century in M. L. Colker, *Trinity College Library, Dublin: Descriptive Catalogue of the Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts*, 2 vols (Aldershot, 1991), ii, 1241.

80 Below, pp. 56–8. The most recent, not wholly satisfactory, edition is that of J. Fleming, *Gille of Limerick (c. 1070–1145): Architect of a Medieval Church* (Dublin, 2001).

81 For the manuscripts see below, p. 54, n. 104.

82 Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters*, 97–100, 283–90.

Liturgical change was undoubtedly an important aspect of the twelfth-century reform programme,[83] but there are unfortunately very few surviving service books, just three missals – the Corpus,[84] Drummond[85] and Rosslyn[86] – and one gradual with musical notation,[87] all of which owe their survival to their removal from Ireland. Not a single pontifical – service books containing the liturgy of rites that only a bishop could perform – survives, although there must have been many newly produced in the context of diocesan restructuring.[88] The introduction of Cistercian and Arrouaisian monastic observances would also have called for substantial quantities of new liturgical manuscripts and customaries, yet none has

83 Cf. pp. 42, 95, 128–9, 131.

84 Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 282 available at http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection= corpus&manuscript=ms282 (accessed 2 May 2010). See F. E. Warren (ed.), *The Manuscript Irish Missal Belonging to the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford* (London, 1879); cf. M. Holland, 'On the dating of the Corpus Irish missal', *Peritia*, 15 (2001), 280–301. The palaeographical evidence indicates a twelfth-century date, but Holland, on the basis of a few selected features rather than a comprehensive analysis, argues that the content must date from the eleventh century. That 'it is very difficult and very unsafe to attempt strict historical deductions from liturgical formulae, new or old', deserved greater consideration: E. Bishop, *Liturgica Historica: Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church* (Oxford, 1918), 298. For the unconvincing hypothesis, based on politico-religious rather than liturgical factors, that the Corpus missal was made for the use of an Augustinian priory of St John the Baptist, Tuam, see J. A. Claffey, 'A very puzzling Irish missal', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, 55 (2003), 1–9. His argument that *proles* can be narrowly translated as 'son', rather than 'offspring' or 'descendant', is mistaken. Cf. below, p. 206, n. 18. These neglected missals urgently demand specialist liturgical investigation. The dating of the Corpus missal cannot satisfactorily be considered without taking account also of the Drummond and Rosslyn missals, the contents of which overlap with the Corpus missal. Suggested palaeographical dates are presented in F. Henry and G. L. Marsh-Micheli, 'A century of Irish illumination (1070–1170)', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 62C (1962), 101–65 at 122–3, 137–40, 155–7; reprinted in F. Henry, *Studies in Early Christian and Medieval Irish Art*, 3 vols (London, 1983–5), ii, 181–290.

85 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 627, variously dated to the eleventh or twelfth century; see F. H. Forbes (ed.), *Missale Drummondiense: The Ancient Irish Missal in the Possession of the Baroness Willoughly de Eresby, Drummond Castle, Perthshire* (Edinburgh, 1882). The Drummond missal's calendar has been edited by P. Ó Riain, *Four Irish Martyrologies: Drummond, Turin, Cashel, York*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 115 (London, 2003), 25–120. Rejecting previous suggestions of an association with Glendalough, Ó Riain argues for an Armagh provenance. The arguments are presented also in his *Feastdays*, 208–11.

86 H. J. Lawlor (ed.), *The Rosslyn Missal: An Irish Manuscript in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 15 (London, 1899). It has been suggested that this missal should be associated with the church of Downpatrick: W. O'Sullivan in *NHI*, i, 542.

87 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C. 892. A detailed liturgical and musicological study of this manuscript is to be published by Dr Frank Lawrence, School of Music, University College, Dublin. In the interim, see F. Lawrence, 'What did they sing at Cashel in 1172? Winchester, Sarum and Romano-Frankish chant in Ireland', *Journal of the Society for Musicology in Ireland*, 3 (2007–8), 111–25 at http://www.music.ucc.ie/jsmi/index.php/jsmi/issue/view/5 (accessed 2 May 2010). Its notation reflects primarily Norman French influence.

88 For evidence that Gillebertus of Limerick drew on the Romano-Germanic, or a similar, pontifical for his treatise on the clerical orders, see below, pp. 65–6. Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury had provided Donngus Ua hAingliu, bishop of Dublin, with books: below, p. 142.

survived. The minimum kinds of book prescribed for the foundation of a Cistercian abbey was a psalter, hymnal, collectary, antiphonary, gradual, rule and missal.[89] None of the manuscripts that Malachy had ordered to be transcribed when he visited Arrouaise has survived.[90] Para-liturgical productions have fared rather better, however.[91] A vernacular metrical calendar combining both Irish and universal saints was composed by Máel Muire Ua Gormáin at Knock Abbey (co. Louth) around 1168×70; it was named *Félire Uí Gormáin* by its copyist, Mícheál Ó Cléirigh (to whom is owed its unique survival), in 1630.[92] A substantial commentary on the early-ninth-century metrical Martyrology of Oengus, known as *Félire Oengusso*, was produced in the 1170s,[93] and there are also five Latin prose martyrologies, four of which survived outside Ireland.[94] A collection of hymns generally known as the *Liber hymnorum*, part Irish, part Latin, together with some prayers, dates from the late eleventh or early twelfth century and is heavily annotated with glosses, scholia and other anecdotal material, suggesting that its use was also para-liturgical.[95]

Overall, the numbers of extant manuscripts that can be securely dated to the twelfth century is small, amounting to around twenty, including psalters and gospel books. The manuscript known as the Gospels of Máel Brigte has a number

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89 C. Waddell (ed.), *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux*, Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses, Studia et Documenta, 9 (Cîteaux, 1999), 187. In 1198 the abbot of St Sulpice-en-Bugey (Rhônes-Alpes) was ordered by the Cistercian general chapter at Cîteaux to return a *breviarium* that he had borrowed from the abbot of Mellifont, possibly while both were attending the general chapter, an order that was repeated at the chapter in 1199: C. Waddell, *Twelfth-Century Statutes from the Cistercian General Chapter*, Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses, Studia et Documenta, 12 (Brecht, 2002), 418, 441. The breviary was of sufficient quality to be sought by borrower and lender. For a psalter in Irish script of mid-twelfth-century date (British Library, Add. MS 36929) with a colophon identifying the scribe as Cormac, which, it has been suggested, may have had a connection with an Irish Cistercian house on the basis of an insertion headed *absolutio Bernarddi* [sic], presumed to refer to Bernard of Clairvaux, see Henry and Marsh-Micheli, 'A century of Irish illumination', 161–4; R. Stalley, *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland: An Account of the History, Art and Architecture of the White Monks in Ireland from 1142 to 1540* (London, 1987), 217–19; *NHI*, i, 532–3; 800; D. Howlett, 'The polyphonic colophon to Cormac's psalter', *Peritia*, 8 (1995), 81–91, which places the literary composition, as well as script and illumination, firmly within a well-established Irish tradition. The notation, however, exhibits Norman-Benedictine influence: Lawrence, 'What did they sing at Cashel?', 123. The manuscript owes its survival to its transfer to the Continent at some point in the medieval period.

90 Below, p. 136. The same is true of the manuscripts produced at Knock during the reign of Donnchad Ua Cerbaill (*a.* 1132–68): below, p. 149.

91 By 'para-liturgical' is meant here an ancillary text that was not directly used in the formal public liturgy.

92 *Félire Húi Gormáin*; most recent discussion in Ó Riain, *Feastdays*. Cf. below, p. 149.

93 W. Stokes (ed.), *The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee: Félire Óengusso Céli Dé*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 29 (London, 1905; reprinted 1984); Ó Riain, *Feastdays*, 173–203.

94 The so-called Drummond, Turin, Cashel and York martyrologies: details in Ó Riain, *Four Irish Martyrologies*; idem, *Feastdays*, 174–224. For the Dublin martyrology, see above, p. 8, n. 32.

95 J. H. Bernard and R. Atkinson (eds), *The Irish Liber Hymnorum*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 13, 14 (London, 1897).

of valuable colophons, including one recording that it was written at Armagh in 1138 by Máel Brigte Ua Máel Uanaig, who stated that he was twenty-eight years of age at the time.[96] It contains an interlinear and marginal commentary on parts of the gospels of Luke and, more especially, Matthew, and is the sole surviving testimony to the pursuit of biblical exegetical scholarship in the church of Armagh in the twelfth century. The gospel text was clearly laid out so as to accommodate the commentary. The latter is somewhat disappointing, however, in that, far from reflecting the new learning of the Paris schools and Peter Lombard, as was once thought,[97] it derives from a Hiberno-Latin commentary tradition that dates back to at least the eighth century.[98] Similarly, the prefatory materials, lay-out and decoration of the gospel text preserve the influence of early insular gospel books. A short exegetical text on the Four Evangelists contained on one folio likewise drew on earlier scholarship.[99] Nonetheless, it attests to active engagement with and not merely passive copying of an older exemplar. Despite its overall conservative character within a long-established exegetical tradition, the manuscript affords clear evidence that biblical exegesis was a living tradition at Armagh around the time of the translation of Malachy from the see of Armagh to Down in 1136. A manuscript of Pope Gregory I's *Moralia in Job* in a number of different hands of twelfth-century date written for one Máel Brigte, possibly Máel Brigte Ua Máel Uanaig, has also been attributed to the scriptorium of Armagh.[100] The dominance of Armagh scholarship was to be acknowledged at a synod in Clane (co. Kildare) in 1162 which decreed that no person should be appointed to the position of *fer léigind* (literally, 'man of [eccle-siastical] reading') in a church who had not been trained in the school of Armagh.[101]

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96 W. Stokes, 'The Irish verses, notes and glosses in Harl. 1802', *Revue Celtique*, 8 (1887), 346–69. Another gospel book, British Library, Harley MS 1023, now imperfectly preserved, is also generally assigned to Armagh on grounds of textual affinities with the early-ninth-century Book of Armagh and stylistic similarities with the symbol-pages of British Library, Harley MS 1802. See Henry and Marsh-Micheli, 'A century of Irish illumination', 146–52. For the textual readings, see M. McNamara, 'The Echternach and Mac Durnan gospels: some common readings and their significance', *Peritia*, 6–7 (1987–88), 217–22.

97 Henry and Marsh-Micheli, 'A century of Irish illumination', 150; K. Hughes, *Early Christian Ireland: Introduction to the Sources* (London, 1972), 280.

98 J. Ritmueller, 'The gospel commentary of Máel Brigte ua Máeluanaig and its Hiberno-Latin background', *Peritia*, 2 (1983), 185–214; eadem, 'Postscript to the gospels of Máel Brigte', *Peritia*, 3 (1984), 215–18. Ritmueller focused in particular on the exposition of Matthew's account of the Last Supper.

99 J. O'Reilly, 'The Hiberno-Latin traditions of the evangelists and the gospel of Mael Brigte', *Peritia*, 9 (1995) 290–309; diplomatic transcript also available at http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/L202000/index.html (accessed 2 May 2010).

100 Oxford, Bodleian MS Laud Misc. 460; F. J. Byrne, *1000 years of Irish Script: An Exhibition of Manuscripts at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1979* (Oxford, 1979), 15–16 (where, however, it is pointed out that there is no similarity between the hands in this manuscript and that of Máel Brigte Ua Máel Uanaig); W. O'Sullivan in *NHI*, i, 544, and plate 58. Marginalia in a French hand of fifteenth-century date indicate that the manuscript had reached France.

101 *AU*, *AFM*; cf. *AT*.

From the scriptorium at Glendalough (co. Wicklow) there survives a manu-
script fragment of early-twelfth-century date with excerpts of the *Ars
Grammatica* by the Irish scholar Clemens Scottus (*ob.* 826), and of the *De Abaco*
of Gerbert of Aurillac (*ob.* 1003), a text that first introduced Arabic numerals to
the West and which indicates teaching at trivium (grammar, rhetoric, logic) and
quadrivium (arithmetic, music, geometry, astronomy) level at Glendalough.[102]
Evidence for more advanced contemporary Continental Latin learning is to be
found in a composite manuscript in an Irish hand dating from the first half of the
twelfth century. It comprises a copy of Calcidius's translation of Plato's *Timaeus*,
the principal source of Platonic thought in the Latin West until the mid twelfth
century; a work on natural phenomena and cosmography by an unknown author;
and six discrete excerpts from the *De Divisione Naturae*, otherwise known as the
Periphyseon, of the ninth-century Irish philosopher John Scottus Eriugena, who,
among ninth-century philosophers, made the most significant use of Platonic
texts.[103] The Calcidius translation has its closest textual affiliations with a group
of Italian manuscripts. An extensive series of commentary glosses, well over 850
in number, and corrections on the text derive from a variety of authorities, some
quite traditional, such as Bede, Augustine and Isidore of Seville. Other glosses,
however, reveal knowledge of two twelfth-century commentators on the
Timaeus: Bernard of Chartres,[104] who wrote between 1100 and 1115 and was the
foremost Platonist of his day, and William of Conches, a student of Bernard's,
whose own commentary belongs to the second quarter of the twelfth century. The
vast majority of the glosses are interpretative and afford clear evidence of active
scholarly engagement with what was by any standards a difficult text.

In the second part of the manuscript, an anonymous text on natural
phenomena and cosmography, the glossing is less heavy and is of two kinds,
grammatical and interpretative, drawn from traditional sources, most notably
Isidore of Seville, an author long favoured in Irish scholarly circles. These
glosses bear a more tangential relationship to the main text, which is used

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102 L. Bieler and B. Bischoff, 'Fragmente zweier frühmittelalterlicher Schulbücher aus Glenda-
lough', *Celtica*, 3 (1956), 211–20. F. J. Byrne posited that the late Roman grammarian
Macrobius may have been studied at Glendalough, as suggested by the name of the bishop of
Glendalough, who adopted that Latin name in the late twelfth century: *NHI*, ii, 40. Macrobius's
commentary on Cicero's *Dream of Scipio* was certainly available to the Welsh scholar
Rhygyfarch ap Sulien, whose father is known to have spent time studying in Ireland, probably in
Leinster, and possibly in Glendalough: A. Peden, 'Science and philosophy in Wales at the time
of the Norman Conquest: a Macrobius manuscript from Llanbadern', *Cambridge Medieval
Celtic Studies*, 2 (Winter 1981), 21–45. However, the sixth-century Egyptian monk Macrobius
could also have been a possible source of inspiration for the choice of name.

103 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F.III.15; see P. Ó Néill, 'An Irishman at Chartres in the
twelfth century: the evidence of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F. III. 15', *Ériu*, 48 (1997),
1–35, on which I have drawn heavily.

104 The identification of the glosses as from the work of Bernard of Chartres was first made by P. E.
Dutton, 'The *Glosae super Platonem* of Bernard of Chartres', *Mediaeval Studies*, 46 (1984),
192–221.

primarily as a repository of words for grammatical and lexicographical analysis. Concern with grammar was indirectly relevant to biblical study, as evidenced by the gloss quoting Pope Gregory I (590–604) on the priority of scriptural Latin over the rules of the late Roman grammarian Donatus, a debate that was still current in the twelfth century.[105] In the sections of the manuscript containing the work of Eriugena the notes and glosses consist mainly of aphorisms, etymologies, lexical equivalents and rhetorical definitions. The glosses more directly related to the text deal with philosophical and dialectical issues and demonstrate that the scribe had access to a copy of the full version of Eriugena's work. Thirty-one notes and glosses in Irish were inserted by different scribes, one of whom made incidental references to events contemporaneous with the writing of the manuscript, while those of another scribe, bearing directly on the text, show familiarity with a type of etymologising pursued in Irish schools, such as deriving Irish words from Greek or Latin roots. In one instance there is an indirect citation from the *Félire Oengusso*, the early-ninth-century verse martyrology which, as already noted, was reworked in the twelfth century.[106] In other words, the scribes combined familiarity with contemporary Continental learning with the conventions and traditions of Irish scholarship.

As indicated by the presence of construe marks, or syntax marks, designed to facilitate access to the difficult Latin syntax of the *Timaeus*, the manuscript was intended for teaching purposes. Overall, the glosses reflect the specific concerns of the early-twelfth-century French schools and, more generally, aspects of the trivium and quadrivium. The subject matter, type of learning and complex philosophical terminology that is displayed could scarcely have been acquired at second hand via manuscripts transmitted to Ireland. It must have been attained by first-hand experience in Continental schools. Such direct knowledge is indeed borne out by a gloss first in Irish and then in two different versions of French, one centred around Paris and a dialect variant located more towards the south. The scribe clearly wished to register his first-hand knowledge of spoken French, which makes it certain that he had spent a period of study abroad, possibly in Paris and in Chartres. That he was certainly not the only Irishman to have done so is indicated by the death-notice in 1174 of Flann (Florint) Ua Gormáin, chief scholar of Armagh, which recorded that he had spent twenty-one years studying 'among the Franks and the English'.[107] Unfortunately the manuscript cannot be securely attributed to any particular Irish scriptorium or school, notwithstanding a marginal note by the scribe named Tuilecnad stating 'in Cúalge [the Cooley peninsula, co. Louth] I wrote this leaf on land and not at all in a church'.[108]

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105 Ó Néill, 'An Irishman at Chartres', 20.
106 Ó Riain, *Feastdays*, 173–303; above, p. 19.
107 Below, p. 169.
108 Ó Néill, 'An Irishman at Chartres', 31. The scribe's unusual name in the form Tuileagna(dh), 'Wave of knowledge', was to be common in the later medieval period in the learned family of Ó Maolchonaire: Byrne, *1000 Years*, 14.

Tuilecnad may have been a peripatetic scribe, although the importance of the nearby Augustinian house at Knock (co. Louth) as a centre of scholarship and manuscript production during the twelfth century should be borne in mind.[109] The occurrence in the first section of the manuscript of the unusual Latin name Salmon, attested in its Irish form of Solamh as the name of the author of a Life of St Cóemgen (Kevin) of Glendalough,[110] coupled with decorative details possibly suggestive of a Leinster origin, may indicate a connection with Glendalough for which evidence of an active school has already been adduced.[111]

There also survives in a twelfth-century Irish minuscule hand a copy of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, a staple text of the medieval educational curriculum, which contains 5000 glosses, including twenty-eight in Irish.[112] One of the remarkable features of the vernacular Irish glosses, as highlighted by Pádraig Ó Néill, is that rather than performing the usual function of glosses – namely the explaining of difficult words – the Irish glosses comment on potential ambiguities of lexicography, grammar and, especially, syntax. This suggests an environment of advanced study, where the teacher and students no longer needed to be concerned about vocabulary and basic understanding of the text. While the provenance of the manuscript remains unknown, in format and methodology it shares features with the copy of Plato's *Timaeus*. These manuscripts, which are all preserved outside Ireland, are witness to scholarly pursuits in Irish ecclesiastical schools during the twelfth century that bears indirectly on the intellectual environment in which reform was disseminated.

A range of vernacular texts, although not overtly of a religious character, also afford implicit evidence for contemporary reformist impulses. While the primary focus of *Cogad Gaedel re Gallaib* ('The War of the Irish against the Foreigners'), a heroic biography of the Munster king Brian Bóruma (*ob.* 1014) written in the early decades of the twelfth century, is on Brian's defence of the Irish people against marauding pagan vikings, in passing it also depicts him as a benefactor of churches and an importer of manuscripts from overseas, attributes that would certainly have flattered his great-grandson Muirchertach Ua Briain, king of Munster (*ob.* 1119), on whose behalf the biography was written.[113] There may also be reflexes of contemporary theological discussion in the mid-twelfth-

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109 Below, p. 149.

110 Plummer, *Bethada*, i, 131, 145, lines 65–8; ii, 127, 141.

111 Above, p. 21.

112 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS LXXVIII. For the glosses, see P. Ó Néill, 'Irish glosses in a twelfth-century copy of Boethius's *Consolatio Philosophiae*', *Ériu*, 55 (2005), 1–17. For a portion of Boethius's *De Arithmetica* 'in an eleventh-/ twelfth-century hand, rapid and businesslike with numerous abbreviations', Trinity College, Dublin, MS 1442, see W. O'Sullivan in *NHI*, i, 544.

113 M. Ní Mhaonaigh, 'Literary manifestations of twelfth-century reform' in D. Bracken and D. Ó Riain-Raedel (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century: Reform and Renewal* (Dublin, 2006), 143–61 at 149–55, 159, 159–61; eadem, 'Cogad Gáedel re Gallaib: some dating considerations', *Peritia*, 9 (1995), 354–77; below, pp. 170, 199.

century text *Acallam na Senórach* ('The Conversation of the Elders'), which accords a pivotal role to the efficacy of baptism in bringing the pagan warriors of the *fian* bands into the fold of Chistianity. Another vernacular text, the satirical poem 'The Vision of Mac Conglinne', presents a biting criticism of the laxity and luxury of some contemporary Irish monastic establishments, at the same time parodying monastic learning and literature.[114]

Even if there were no extant written sources, the material evidence for the building and rebuilding of churches with new lay-outs and decorative sculptural features which reflect the Romanesque style of the twelfth century, as well as the construction of monasteries that were wholly new in terms of scale and lay-out and the refurbishment of established monastic sites, would alert us to a period of major restructuring in the Irish church.[115] The introduction of Cistercian monasticism could indeed be inferred from architectural evidence alone. The cruciform church of Mellifont Abbey, the first Cistercian community to be established in Ireland in 1142, which was consecrated in 1157, was probably the largest church that had been erected up to that date, as is suggested by its vernacular name *An Mainistir Mór* ('The Great Monastery').[116] No monastic site in Ireland before the twelfth century exhibited anything like a cloister in the shape of a four-square covered walkway at the centre of a complex of buildings that included church and communal living quarters. The earliest pictorial representation of such an arrangement is the famous plan from a Sankt Gallen manuscript, almost certainly created at Reichenau and sent around 820 by Haito, bishop-abbot of Reichenau, to his pupil, the abbot of St Gallen. Both Reichenau and St Gallen had Irish links, yet there is little evidence of such architectural influences travelling back to Ireland. The earliest examples of cloisters reach Ireland in the twelfth century in the context of the formation of Cistercian and Augustinian communities.

Unfortunately the extant physical remains of medieval churches, most of which are either ruined or, in cases where they are still in use for religious worship, have been altered beyond recognition by the Protestant Reformation and ensuing changes, are less helpful in enabling the reconstruction of the physical setting in which worship took place in the twelfth century. Nonetheless, extant architectural features still provide very valuable insights. The church erected at Cashel by Cormac Mac Carthaig, king of Munster (*ob.* 1138), named by contemporary annalists as *Tempull Chormaic* and still known today as Cormac's Chapel, the consecration of which is recorded in 1134,[117] has conventionally been seen as inaugurating the Romanesque style in Ireland. However, a recent examination by Richard Gem of the church traditionally known as the oratory of St Flannán at Killaloe has re-dated that building to the early twelfth century and argued that Cormac's Chapel was influenced by the prior model of St

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114 Below, pp. 163–4.
115 See O'Keeffe, *Romanesque Ireland*.
116 *AT* 1166, *AU* 1189.
117 *AT*, *CS* 1130=1134, *MIA* 1134.1, *AFM*.

Flannán's oratory.[118] Gem provides a detailed analysis of the church, its form and construction, and the decorative details of the west portal, and argues on stylistic grounds that at least one mason from south-eastern England must have been involved in its construction. The oratory, which stands immediately to the north of the nave of the main church, was a subsidiary building within the complex at Killaloe, thereby raising questions about its functions. Its lay-out of nave and chancel is one of the earliest occurrences of this two-cell, or bicameral, structure in Irish architecture. It may reflect a reformist agenda of a clearer separation between clergy and laity, or a significant liturgical change such as a perceived need to provide a more distinctive setting for the consecration of the eucharist. It is possible that the oratory was a special donation by Muirchertach Ua Briain, king of Munster and high-king (*ob.* 1119), to the church of Killaloe that would have called for reciprocatory prayers for the king and his family. It may have functioned as a kind of *Hofkapelle*, or court chapel, within a larger ecclesiastical complex. In any case, Gem's reassessment contributes to a greater understanding not only of the architectural sequencing of twelfth-century churches but also of the range of external contacts available to Muirchertach Ua Briain, already known from written evidence.[119]

The church interiors and decorative features which the twelfth-century worshipper would have experienced, and which were intended to convey specific messages, have suffered overwhelming destruction or extensive rebuilding and refurbishment, and very few descriptions of lost features survive. Gerald of Wales afforded a rare detail when he recounted in his *History and Topography of Ireland* (1185×89) that representations of St Cóemgen (Kevin), founder of the monastery of Glendalough, invariably depicted him with a blackbird in his outstretched hand because on an occasion during Lent, when the saint had his hand raised towards heaven, a blackbird had happened to settle on it and, using it as a nest, laid her eggs there, whereupon Cóemgen patiently kept his hand in that position until the bird had hatched its eggs.[120] Gerald was so taken with this distinctive image that it was selected as one of the illustrations for his *History*.[121]

The evidence afforded by precious metal objects such as reliquaries and epis-copal crosiers, which had a better chance of survival, attests to a range of

118 R. Gem, 'St Flannán's oratory at Killaloe: a Romanesque building of *c.* 1100 and the patronage of king Muirchertach Ua Briain' in D. Bracken and D. Ó Riain-Raedel (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century: Reform and Renewal* (Dublin, 2006), 74–105.

119 See most recently S. Duffy, ' "The western world's tower of honour and dignity": the career of Muirchertach Ua Briain in context' in D. Bracken and D. Ó Riain-Raedel (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century: Reform and Renewal* (Dublin, 2006), 56–73.

120 *Giraldi Opera*, v, 116; Gerald of Wales, *History and Topography*, 78–9. The incident is recounted in hagiographical Lives of Cóemgen: Plummer, *Bethada*, i, 127–8, 141, 159–60, ii, 123–4, 137, 155.

121 For Gerald's role in selecting illustrations, see M. P. Brown, 'Marvels of the West: Giraldus Cambrensis and the role of the author in the development of marginal illustration' in A. S. G. Edwards (ed.), *Decoration and Illustration in Medieval English Manuscripts*, English Manu-script Studies 1100–1700, 10 (London, 2002), 34–59.

imported decorative and artistic influences and even to new forms. Raghnall Ó Floinn has highlighted the adoption of a new shape of crosier that can be distinguished from earlier shepherd's crook-style pastoral staffs with a decorated angled drop, the latter frequently used as a compartment with a separately made closure or lid designed to hold relics. These were usually associated with a founding saint and passed as insignia from one office-holder to the next, rather than being regarded as the property of an individual cleric.[122] During the twelfth century two alternative types of crosier with either T-shaped or volute heads were introduced, the latter becoming universally used in the Western church by the end of the twelfth century.

Twelfth-century Irish representations of mitred figures on sculptured high crosses and metalwork depict a distinctive conical form of mitre that may have been intended as the visual representation of a new emphasis on episcopal leadership under papal authority. This type may have derived from the papal tiara-mitre and been adopted as a deliberate means of stressing the apostolically derived role of the bishop.[123] Pope Innocent II (1130–43) is recorded by Bernard of Clairvaux in his Life of Malachy as having taken 'his mitre from his own head' and placed it on Malachy's, and having bestowed on him as well his own stole and maniple – just one indication of how Continental vestments and other liturgical objects reached Ireland.[124]

While the cult of relics in the Irish church was well established by the early seventh century, as suggested by the physical evidence of the late-sixth- to seventh-century stone reliquary with inner wooden box from Dromiskin (co. Louth) and the early-seventh-century house-shaped shrine of Clonmore (co. Armagh),[125] the eleventh and twelfth centuries witnessed an increase in the production and refurbishment of reliquaries, many of which can be dated by their inscriptions.[126] In a famous passage about the millennial year 1000, the French monk Rodulfus Glaber described not only how the earth was clothed in a white mantle of new churches but how relics of the saints were also brought to light in high numbers;[127] he was describing a religious renewal associated with a new fervour for saints and their relics, which is also reflected in Ireland. Long-known relics such as St Patrick's tooth, first mentioned in Bishop Tírechán's

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122 R. Ó Floinn, 'Bishops, liturgy and reform: some archaeological and art historical evidence' in D. Bracken and D. Ó Riain-Raedel (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century: Reform and Renewal* (Dublin, 2006), 218–38 at 219–30.

123 Ó Floinn, 'Bishops, liturgy and reform', 230–35.

124 *Vita Malachiae*, 344, lines 10–12, *St Malachy the Irishman*, 53.

125 Illustrations in Bourke, *Patrick*, 14. For the literary evidence, see C. Doherty, 'The use of relics in early Ireland' in P. Ní Chatháin and M. Richter (eds), *Irland und Europa: die Kirche im Frühmittelalter/Ireland and Europe: The Early Church* (Stuttgart, 1984), 89–101.

126 Details in P. E. Micheli, 'The inscriptions on pre-Norman Irish reliquaries', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 96C (1996), 1–48.

127 Rodulfus Glaber, *The Five Books of the Histories*; ed. J. France, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1989), 114–17, 126–9. In reality, Glaber's description referred more narrowly to Burgundy and the Loire valley area.

late-seventh-century collection of material relating to Patrick,[128] and St Patrick's bell were repaired and received new decorative coverings, the latter including a small imported stud of blue glass inlaid with a four-petalled flower in cloisonné enamel.[129] The refurbishment of those relics would have supported the promotion by the church of Armagh of its primatial status in the context of the elaboration of a hierarchical diocesan structure. The arm-shaped reliquary of St Lachtín, which is associated with the church of Donaghmore (co. Cork) and can be dated to 1118×21 by a series of inscriptions,[130] is not only innovative in shape but also exhibits strong decorative influences from Continental Europe, including motifs such as the plant scrolls on the palm of the hand that are totally new in style and may derive from the Ottonian manuscript tradition in which that type of decoration was common.[131] The earliest extant arm-shaped reliquaries emanate from eleventh-century Germany and it is likely that this form was directly imported from there into Ireland. It may possibly be linked more particularly to the promotion of episcopal office, since on the Continent a strong association between arm-shaped reliquaries and bishops has been identified.[132] A concern to heighten episcopal authority is suggested by sculptural evidence. Large-scale figures of bishops are depicted on crosses, as on the east face of the 'Doorty' cross at Kilfenora (co. Clare) and probably also on the east face of the now poorly preserved high cross at Cashel, where in each case the figures make significant gestures with their right hand. The representation of a bishop on the east face of the high cross at Dysert O'Dea (co. Clare) even appears to have had a (now missing) projecting right hand.

Although the focus of this study is primarily on charting renewal and change in a reformist context, it is also important to bear in mind evidence for continuity within the long-established ecclesiastical establishments and their response to developments generated by the pan-European reform movement. The annals, notwithstanding their limitations, constitute an important source of information

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128 L. Bieler (ed.), *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, 10 (Dublin, 1979), 158–9; Bourke, *Patrick*, 50; R. Ó Floinn, *Irish Shrines and Reliquaries of the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 1994), 20.

129 M. Ryan (ed.), *Treasures of Ireland* (Dublin, 1983), 62–3, 167–8; Micheli, 'Inscriptions on pre-Norman Irish reliquaries', 22–3, 39; R. Ó Floinn, 'Innovation and conservatism in Irish metalwork of the Romanesque period' in C. E. Karkov, M. Ryan, and R. T. Farrell (eds), *The Insular Tradition* (Albany, NY, 1997), 259–82 at 266.

130 G. Murray, 'The arm-shaped reliquary of St Lachtin: technique, style and significance' in C. Hourihane (ed.), *Irish Art Historical Studies in Honour of Peter Harbison* (Dublin 2004), 141–64; Ó Floinn, 'Innovation and conservatism', 267–70.

131 Apart from the reliquary and notice of his feast in liturgical calendars, there is little evidence from twelfth-century Irish sources for the cult of St Lachtín, which makes noteworthy his inclusion, alongside other Munster saints, in a litany in a twelfth-century manuscript fragment from the *Schottenkloster* of Regensburg, recovered from a binding and recently acquired by the Boole Library, University College, Cork. In 1199 the church of Donaghmore was confirmed by Innocent III as pertaining to the episcopal see of Cork: Sheehy, *Pontificia*, i, 108.

132 C. Hahn, 'The voices of the saints: speaking reliquaries', *Gesta*, 36 (1997), 20–31.

on institutional continuity and personnel, while genealogical material sheds light on the ubiquitous survival of hereditary clerical families. The notices of property transactions relating to the monastery of Kells (co. Meath) between 1034 and 1161 that were inserted into the Book of Kells yield valuable details on the religious or, perhaps more accurately, not overtly religious ethos and the extent of secularisation within that important Columban monastery.[133] There is much still to be learnt from the three great twelfth-century manuscript compilations *Lebor na hUidre*, Rawlinson B. 502 and the Book of Leinster. These compendious manuscripts have attracted more attention from literary scholars concentrating on individual vernacular texts than historians of the twelfth-century Irish church, and yet they were produced within an ecclesiastical milieu. The inelegantly named MS Rawlinson B. 502, which on palaeographical and content grounds may be assigned a date around 1130, is thought by some to have emanated from the monastery of Glendalough, while a persuasive case has been made for the monastery of Killeshin (co. Laois) as the source of significant quantities of its material.[134] Rawlinson B. 502 contains a mixture of religious texts, such as *Saltair na Rann* ('The Psalter of Verses'), a late-tenth-century versified account of biblical history, to which has been added ten poems on the events of each day in the period immediately preceding the Monday of the Last Judgement; the *Sex Aetates Mundi* ('Six Ages of the World'), a description of world history within a framework of six time-periods from Adam to the end of the world that reveals something of the way in which biblical history was taught in Irish schools; a heavily glossed text of the early-seventh-century *Amra Coluim Cille* ('Eulogy of Colum Cille'); and extensive genealogies arranged with a Leinster bias, alongside poetic material of Leinster interest, legal treatises and prose tales.[135] No satisfactory exploration of the rationale for the inclusion of such texts within a single manuscript has yet been offered.

Lebor na hUidre ('The Book of the Dun Cow'), now constituting only half of the original manuscript, also contains a mixture of religious and secular texts that may have been assembled at the monastery of Clonmacnois in the late eleventh or early twelfth century.[136] The compilers favoured the narrative form and, unlike

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133 Below, pp. 164–5.

134 Pádraig Ó Riain has argued for Glendalough, but this has been refuted by Caoimhín Breatnach, who does not suggest an alternative location. On debate for and against Glendalough, see C. Breatnach, 'Manuscript sources and methodology: Rawlinson B. 502 and Lebar Glinne Dá Locha', *Celtica*, 24 (2002), 40–54, and the earlier references there cited. The case for Killeshin material is made by Byrne, *1000 Years*, 13, and E. Bhreathnach, 'Killeshin: an Irish monastery surveyed', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 27 (1994), 33–48.

135 Detailed description of contents in B. Ó Cuiv, *Catalogue of Irish Language Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and Oxford College Libraries*, 2 vols (Dublin, 2001–3), i, 163–200; ii, plates 15–21. Images available at http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=msrawlb502 (accessed 2 May 2010).

136 Now Royal Irish Academy, MS 23 E 25; R. I. Best and O. Bergin (eds), *Lebor na hUidre: Book of the Dun Cow* (Dublin, 1929). The contents of the manuscript are listed at xxvii–xxxviii; brief

the other twelfth-century compendious manuscripts, it contains virtually no didactic verse and no genealogical material.[137] Secular tales form the greater part of the extant manuscript, among which is the earliest version of the *Táin*, the longest medieval Irish narrative tale. Alongside these are a number of religious texts, such as the *Sex Aetates Mundi* and *Amra Coluim Cille*, both also contained in Rawlinson B. 502. An apocryphal text, *Da Brón Flatha Nime* ('Two Sorrows of the Kingdom of Heaven'),[138] describes the two sorrows occasioned by the circumstance that Elijah and Enoch implored the Lord that they might be borne bodily into heaven, which resulted in their not being weightless souls and thus unable to fly like angels. A treatise on the Resurrection, *Scéla na Esérgi* ('Tidings of the Resurrection'), discusses the physical form which it would take: that, for example, men and women would arise from their graves excepting those who had been devoured by wild beasts and dispersed in different places who would be renewed by the Lord in whatever location he desired, that even aborted foetuses would have life after death, that conjoined twins would be separated, that the physical age at which all would arise in their bodies would be thirty,[139] that bodies of martyrs would bear the traces of their wounds even after resurrection.[140] While drawing on the writings of Augustine and Pope Gregory I and material that is traceable to earlier texts such as the Irish Reference Bible (*ca* 800), it also reveals an understanding of Neoplatonic philosophy and an ability by the author to manipulate the Irish language 'to express complex concepts derived from Latin theological and philosophical discourse' that argue for familiarity with contemporary Continental scholarly trends.[141] An eschatological homily, *Scéla Laí Brátha* ('Tidings of Doomsday') – while it may not have been composed much before the date of the manuscript – also draws on earlier

discussion in M. Ní Mhaonaigh, 'Lebor na hUidre' in S. Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Ireland: An Encyclopedia* (New York, 2005), 267–9. For a Clonmacnois connection, see E. Bhreathnach, 'Learning and literature in early medieval Clonmacnoise' in H. King (ed.), *Clonmacnoise Studies, Volume 2: Seminar Papers 1998* (Dublin, 2003), 97–104.

137 As pointed out by J. Carey, 'Compilations of lore and legend: *Leabhar na hUidre* and the books of Uí Mhaine, Ballymote, Lecan and Fermoy' in B. Cunningham and S. Fitzpatrick (eds), *Treasures of the Royal Irish Academy Library* (Dublin, 2009), 17–31 at 19.

138 Translation in M. Herbert and M. McNamara (eds), *Irish Biblical Apocrypha: Selected Texts in Translation* (Edinburgh, 1989, London, 1994 reprint), 19–21. For a definition of apocrypha and description of the Irish apocryphal tradition, see M. McNamara et al., *Apocrypha Hiberniae I: Evangeliae Infantiae*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Apocryphorum, 13 (Turnhout, 2001), 5–30.

139 Cf. Colmán of Lann's resurrection of the week-long dead Onchú son of Sarán, explaining that he is 'at liberty to arise out of the sleep of death as you were at the age of thirty years; for now you are an old man': Meyer, *Betha Colmáin*, 46–7.

140 W. Stokes (ed.), 'Tidings of the resurrection', *Revue Celtique*, 25 (1904), 232–59. On this text, see M. McNamara, 'Some aspects of early medieval Irish eschatology' in P. Ní Chatháin and M. Richter (eds), *Irland und Europa im Früheren Mittelalter/Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Bildung und Literatur/Learning and Literature* (Stuttgart, 1996), 42–75 at 67–9.

141 E. O'Boyle, 'Neoplatonic thought in medieval Ireland: the evidence of *Scéla na Esérgi*', *Medium Ævum*, 88 (2009), 216–30 at 216.

materials.[142] Taking passages from the gospel of Matthew (24:30, 25: 31–46) as the basis of reflection, it moves on to describe the Last Judgement and the four categories into which the judged will be sorted, using the Latin terms, *mali valde*, *mali non valde*, *boni non valde* and *boni valde*; it then vividly describes the physical torments of hell. Immediately following is *Fís Adomnáin* ('The Vision of Adomnán'), another homiletically presented vision of the pains of hell and joys of heaven attributed to Adomnán, abbot of Iona (*ob.* 704), whose soul was taken on a journey through hell and heaven by an angel who then commanded Adomnán's soul to return to the same body from which it had emerged, so that Adomnán might describe for both clergy and laity the rewards of heaven and torments of hell.[143] The Vision of Tnugdal, already mentioned, in which the same four categorisations of souls occurs as in *Scéla Laí Brátha*, clearly emanated from the same Irish eschatological tradition of Otherworld visions.

Scholarly practice thus far has tended to study the texts within these compendia as autonomous entities separate from the context of their compilation and the underlying reasons for the selection of material, but the activities of their compilers represent an important aspect of twelfth-century Irish learned endeavour. It has been interpreted by most modern scholars as symptomatic of cultural conservatism; indeed, it has been argued that the production of these great codices was a deliberate attempt, undertaken in a spirit of retrospection, to preserve a tradition that was perceived to be under severe threat from the penetration of the Continental reform movement. Yet, as Máire Herbert has pointed out, imposition of structure and linguistic updating was undertaken so as to facilitate reading and linguistic comprehension, as was reconfiguration of material so as to be mimetic of contemporary circumstances, which suggests their direct relevance.[144]

Lebor na Nuachongbála ('The Book of Oughavall'), better known by its non-contemporary title the Book of Leinster, a manuscript compiled chiefly between 1150 and 1170, likewise contains a mixture of predominantly secular with some religious material,[145] including genealogies of saints; lists of Irish bishops, and of the mothers and sisters of saints; a copy of the early-ninth- century martyrology

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142 W. Stokes, 'Tidings of Doomsday: an early–middle-Irish homily', *Revue Celtique*, 4 (1879–80), 245–57, 479–80; discussion in McNamara, 'Some aspects', 69–70; Mac Eoin, 'Observations', 201–3.

143 Translation and further reading in Herbert and McNamara, *Irish Biblical Apocrypha*, 137–48, 185–6. For discussion of sources and theological background, see D. N. Dumville, 'Towards an interpretation of *Fís Adomnán*', *Studia Celtica*, 12–13 (1977–78), 62–77; McNamara, 'Some aspects', 71–3. For the omission of Latin passages and adaptation by the *Lebor na hUidre* redactor so as to simplify the language of his exemplar, see Mac Eoin, 'Observations', 196–9.

144 M. Herbert, 'Crossing historical and literary boundaries: Irish written culture around the year 1000', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 53/54 (2007), 87–101.

145 See R. I. Best, O. Bergin, and M. A. O'Brien (eds), *The Book of Leinster Formerly Lebar na Núachongbála*, 6 vols, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (Dublin, 1956–83), with content details in the introduction to each volume.

of Tallaght;[146] and a collection of stories about St Moling. In a note in the manuscript Áed mac Crimthainn, *comarba* ('successor') of the church of Terryglass (co. Tipperary), claimed that he wrote the book and collected the material for it from many different volumes.[147] Additional evidence for Áed's involvement is found in a short letter inserted into the manuscript by Finn, bishop of Kildare (floruit *ca* 1152), who sends greetings to Áed and requests that the poem-book of Mac Lonáin be brought to him 'that we may discover the meaning of the poems that are in it'.[148] This letter from a bishop within the newly restructured diocesan organisation to the head of the early Irish monastic foundation of Terryglass highlights the co-operative interaction between what might conventionally be termed reformist and traditionalist circles. Finn himself added some verses to a historical poem by Cináed Ua hArtacáin with the tag 'Find, bishop of Kildare added this (*Find eps. Cille d. hic addidit*)', testimony to his own poetic interests. Far from assembling an 'antiquarian' collection of texts from an earlier age, the scholars involved in the compilation of the Book of Leinster included selected contemporary compositions, such as the poems composed by Gilla na Náem Ua Duinn, *fer léigind* of the monastery of Inis Clothrann (Inchcleraun, co. Longford), whose death in 1160 is recorded with fulsome praise as 'Ireland's chief author in history and poetry and professor (*ollam*) without equal among the Irish'.[149] That the chief scholar of Inis Clothrann was engaged in composing versified regnal lists based on annalistic material and possibly to be used in a pedagogical context as mnemonic verses, and that the head of the church of Terryglass was interested in obtaining a book of poetry does, however, reveal something of the scholarly ethos within the old established monasteries.

Domnall Ua hÉnna, the court bishop of Muirchertach Ua Briain, king of Munster and high-king, attached to the church of Killaloe, who around 1080/1 wrote to Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, seeking clarification on the views of the English church concerning the reception of the eucharist by infants at baptism, evidently also had included a query about 'questions of secular learn-

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146 For a number of twelfth-century additions to the early-ninth-century text made by the Book of Leinster redactor, see Ó Riain, *Feastdays*, 111–18.

147 Best et al., *The Book of Leinster*, i, xv–xvi.

148 For the identification of Áed Mac Crimthainn's correspondent as Bishop Finn mac Máel Muire maic Cianáin rather than Bishop Finn Ua Gormáin (*ob.* 1161), who was 'abbot of the monks of Iubar Cinn Tráchta (Newry) for a time', see E. Breathnach, 'Two contributors to the Book of Leinster: Bishop Finn of Kildare and Gilla na Náem Úa Duinn' in M. Richter and J.-M. Picard (eds), *Ogma: Essays in Celtic Studies in Honour of Próinséas Ní Chatháin* (Dublin, 2002), 105–11. The incongruity that some scholars have found in a former abbot of a Cistercian monastery engaged in vernacular poetic studies is thereby removed. For the conformity of Bishop Finn's letter with the art of letter-writing according to the *ars dictaminis*, see S. L. Foster-Grupp, 'The earliest Irish personal letter', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 15 (1995), 1–11. The letter is more properly the earliest extant in the Irish language since there are earlier letters in Latin, notably the correspondence of Irish kings and bishops with the archbishops of Canterbury.

149 *AT*; cf. *AFM*.

ing' to which Lanfranc acerbically replied that it did not befit a bishop's manner of life to be concerned with studies of that kind: 'Long ago in our youth we did devote our time to these matters, but when we came to pastoral responsibility we decided to give them up altogether.'[150] This was clearly not a view shared by Bishop Finn of Kildare more than half a century later. Finn's letter to Áed mac Crimthainn, written in Irish but signed off with the conventional Latin farewell *Et vale in Christo*, highlights how much more work needs to be undertaken on the compilatory activities, interpretative interventions and scholarly milieux of the old established monasteries and their relationship with reformist circles.

Possible tensions surface in an acute way in the Latin colophon added by the scribe who copied the *Táin* into the Book of Leinster. He fulfilled his professional duty as a faithful transmitter of the text, obeying the injunction of the redactor whose work he was copying not to tamper with it, but then, switching to Latin, he signified his exasperation at trying to assess whether the material should be categorised as history (*historia*) or fable (*fabula*).[151] On the one hand, the *Táin* could be considered *historia*, in that it was an account of deeds performed in the remote past; on the other hand, it contained poetic fictions and fantastical improbabilities. His deployment of *historia* and *fabula* in a technical manner indicates his familiarity with the scholarly conventions of Christian Latin historiography and the vocabulary of rhetoric. While it would be possible to view his critical response to the text in a reformist context, ultimately his vacillation between history and fable was based on rhetorical criteria. He was signalling his attempt to apply the standards of the Latin rhetorical tradition to the vernacular material that he was copying. Respect for his native learned tradition is evidenced by other material that he copied in addition to the *Táin*, such as *Togail Troí* ('The Destruction of Troy'),[152] an Irish version of the *De excidio Troiae historia* attributed to Pseudo-Dares Phrygius, as well the organisational role that he exercised by providing bridge passages throughout the manuscript. It can be argued that his response to the *Táin* was therefore conditioned more by a renewed accessibility to classical Latin learning which can be associated with the twelfth-century Renaissance than by the impact of contemporary reformist impulses. In Ireland, to a larger extent than elsewhere in the greater part of Europe at this time, the

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150 *Letters of Lanfranc*, no. 49, 160–61. Lanfranc's letter to Bishop Domnall Ua hÉnna is not only preserved in Lanfranc's main letter collection, but also follows on from Lanfranc's canon law collection in two manuscripts and is present in a detached quaternion of Worcester provenance, reflecting Worcester's interest in Ireland: ibid., 17, 19, 154. Domnall Ua hÉnna's scholarly credentials are emphasised in death-notices which described him as a 'chief master of wisdom', and a 'doctor of either law, namely of the Romans and of the Irish': *AI* 1098.5, *AU²* 1098.8, *AFM*. He is described as 'archbishop of the men of Munster' in *CS* 1094=1098 and 'archbishop of Cashel' in *ALC* 1096=1098. See also below, p. 209.

151 See P. Ó Néill, 'The Latin colophon to the "Táin Bó Cúailnge" in the Book of Leinster: a critical view of Old Irish literature', *Celtica*, 23 (1999), 269–75.

152 See U. Mac Gearailt, '*Togail Troí*: an example of translating and editing in medieval Ireland', *Studia Hibernica*, 31 (2000–2001), 71–85.

vernacular language was used as a literary medium in ecclesiastical schools with compositional techniques carried over from both Latin Christian writings and secular literature, and this must have impacted on scholarly environments.

Religious renewal in twelfth-century Ireland was a particular manifestation of a broader pan-European reform movement sometimes, if too narrowly, defined as the Gregorian reform – from its most dramatically vocal and confrontational proponent, Pope Gregory VII (1073–85). That movement, which quickened from the mid eleventh century onwards, is associated with a renewal of clerical discipline, including the observance of celibacy, with the development of universal norms of canon law and liturgy, with the redrawing of the relationship between spiritual and temporal authority so as to achieve the freedom of the clergy in their own ecclesiastical spheres, with the assertion of papal authority and its increasing governmental control of the church, and with the material building and rebuilding of churches and monasteries. Each church within western Christendom approached that programme in its own individual way, since each began from a different starting point and had different local priorities. As far as Irish churchmen are concerned, an identification of their aims and achievements in the twelfth century is severely hampered by the haphazard survival of the evidence, much of it externally generated and preserved. Whereas elsewhere there is a notable increase in the production of all manner of written records for the study of the church and its role in society from the eleventh century onwards, including narrative histories, charters and letter-collections, saints' Lives, theological and philosophical treatises and canon law compilations, there is actually less material surviving for the Irish church from the twelfth century than from the seventh and eighth centuries. This in large part has accounted for the relative neglect of the Irish church in the post-viking era, and more particularly from around 1000 onwards,[153] when a period of change is discernible which was to result in structural transformation and religious renewal that impacted on both clerical and lay society.

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153 Cf. the chronological coverage of C. Etchingham, *Church Organisation in Ireland, AD 650–1000* (Maynooth, 1999).

2

'REGULATING THE DIOCESES OF
THE BISHOPS OF IRELAND'

A radical restructuring of episcopal jurisdiction is conventionally attributed to two landmark synods of the twelfth-century Irish church, the synod of Ráith Bressail (1111)[1] and the synod of Kells (1152). According to the seventeenth-century historian Geoffrey Keating, who preserved in Irish translation a version of its acts, the synod of Ráith Bressail 'regulated the *faircheadha* or *dioceses* of the bishops of Ireland'.[2] It delimited territorially cohesive diocesan boundaries by naming four compass points, while within each diocese a specific church was designated as episcopal see. It also determined an archiepiscopal and primatial hierarchy: two archiepiscopal provinces with metropolitan sees located at Armagh and at Cashel were recognised, under each of which there were to be

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1   The annals are unanimous in recording that an important synod met in 1111 at Fiad mac nAengusa (*AI* 1111.3, *AT*, *CS* 1107=1111, *AU²* 1111.8, *ALC*, *AFM*). A contemporaneous gloss in *AI* identifies Fiad mac nAengusa as Ráith Bressail: R. I. Best and E. MacNeill, *The Annals of Inisfallen Reproduced in Facsimile from the Original Manuscript* (Dublin, 1933), fo. 33r, col. c; also available at http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=msrawlb503 (accessed 2 May 2010). Keating distinguished between a *comdál* at Fiad mac nAengusa and a synod at Ráith Bressail: *FFE*, iii, 296–307. He subsequently described Fiad mac nAengusa as the first *comdál*, dating it to 1105 and Ráith Bressail as 'another *comdál*' in 1110: ibid., 356–7. It is difficult to reconcile Keating's account of Ráith Bressail, presided over by the papal legate, Bishop Gillebertus of Limerick, with the annalistic entries that accord precedence at the 1111 synod to either Máel Muire Ua Dúnáin or Cellach, as head of the church of Armagh. See below, p. 53, n. 102. This has led to the view that two distinct meetings may have been conflated in modern historiography: D. N. Dumville, *Councils and Synods of the Gaelic Early and Central Middle Ages*, Quiggin Pamphlets on the Sources of Mediaeval Gaelic History, 3 (Cambridge, 1988), 38, 43–5. Convincing evidence that Fiad mac nAengusa and Ráith Bressail were one and the same is provided by D. Ó Murchadha, 'Where was Ráith Bressail?', *Tipperary Historical Journal* (1999), 326–9. An identification of Ráith Bressail as in the tld of Fortgrady, par. Dromtarriff, bar. Duhallow, co. Cork, was suggested by A. Candon, 'Ráith Bressail: a suggested identification', *Peritia*, 3 (1984), 326–9. However, as pointed out by Ó Murchadha, this would have located it within the Meic Carthaig sphere of influence, who are nowhere recorded as having played a role at Ráith Bressail. Ó Murchadha more plausibly suggests a border location in Éile Uí Fhócarta (in bar. Eliogarty, co. Tipperary).

2   'Is ann fós do horduigheadh faircheadha nó dioceses easpog na hÉireann': *FFE*, iii, 298–9; J. Mac Erlean, 'Synod of Ráith Breasail: boundaries of the dioceses of Ireland', *Archivium Hibernicum*, 3 (1914), 1–33 at 7, 13. Keating's *faircheadha*, derived from *paruchia<pairche<fairche*, which by the seventeenth century was used in the sense of parish rather than diocese, may reflect the original terminology of a twelfth-century source.

twelve episcopal sees, with primacy accorded to Armagh. A number of local assemblies, such as that held later in the same year at Uisnech in the provincial kingdom of Mide,[3] subsequently altered the locations of sees but did not significantly modify the overall number.

The archiepiscopal provinces of Armagh and Cashel that had been agreed at Ráith Bressail were augmented in 1152 at the synod of Kells by the creation of the two additional archdioceses of Dublin and Tuam. Furthermore, that amended scheme was accorded formal papal approval by Cardinal John Paparo, who presided as papal legate and distributed pallia – symbols of a papally delegated metropolitan authority – for the four archbishops. The provinces of Armagh and Cashel, as defined at Ráith Bressail,[4] had been coterminous with the early-twelfth-century political spheres associated with the two most powerful contenders for the high-kingship, Domnall Mac Lochlainn, king of Cenél nEógain (*ob.* 1121), in the northern half of Ireland, and Muirchertach Ua Briain, king of Munster (*ob.* 1119), in the southern half. The establishment of the additional archiepiscopal provinces of Dublin and of Tuam reflected the changed political realities that had resulted in the meantime from the emergence of the province of Connacht under its king, Toirdelbach Ua Conchobair (1106–56), as a significant player for the high-kingship, coupled with the growing dominance of the provincial kingship of Leinster under Diarmait Mac Murchada (*a.* 1133–71), and the increasing commercial importance of the Hiberno-Norse towns of Dublin, Waterford and Wexford. The elevation of the see of Dublin to archiepiscopal status also secured its acknowledgement of the primacy of Armagh.[5] With some subsequent minor adjustments, the diocesan structure that received papal endorsement in 1152 has remained visible to the present day.[6]

Taken together, the synods of Ráith Bressail and Kells have been seen as not only having imposed fixed diocesan boundaries on the Irish church for the first time but also having restored pastoral leadership to bishops whose authority had

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3 The sees for Mide named at Ráith Bressail were Duleek and Clonard; the synod of Uisnech amended these to Clonard and Clonmacnois: *CS* 1107=1111, *AT* 1111, *ABoyle*, no. 306.

4 They may also have acquired some form of papal approval under the authority of the resident papal legate (*legatus natus*), Gillebertus, bishop of Limerick: below, p. 53.

5 See M. Holland, 'The twelfth-century reform and Inis Pátraic' in A. MacShamhráin (ed.), *The Island of St Patrick: Church and Ruling Dynasties in Fingal and Meath, 400–1148* (Dublin, 2004), 159–77, who holds that the elevation of the see of Dublin to metropolitan status was a plan first conceived by Archbishop Lanfranc. However, a single instance of the use of *metropolis*, which may simply have been carried over from a *decretum*, or standard formal request for consecration of an episcopal candidate that was drawn from the Romano-Germanic pontifical, cannot reliably be made to bear the weight of his argument. See *PRG*, i, 194, lines 10–11; M. Philpott, 'Some interactions between the English and Irish churches', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 20 (1998), 195–6. On the Romano-Germanic pontifical compiled in Mainz in the mid-tenth century, see C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*; revised and translated by W. Storey and N. Rasmussen (Portland, OR, 1986) 230–39. For its possible use by Gillebertus of Limerick, see below, pp. 65–6.

6 The Established Church of Ireland inherited the diocesan structures of the pre-Reformation church.

been circumscribed and overshadowed by monastic churches. However, too sharp a contrast has been drawn between a supposed curtailment of episcopal leadership and diocesan organisation before Ráith Bressail and the situation that obtained after Kells. The conventional portrayal of the Irish church on the eve of the twelfth-century restructuring has been of an institution with marked peculiarities, the chief of which was that it had been dominated for centuries by monastic institutions, with the abbots of major communities depicted as the most powerful ecclesiastical leaders, alongside whom bishops operated as marginalised figures who were little more than sacramental functionaries with their duties restricted to the ordination of priests, the consecration of other bishops and conferral of the sacrament of confirmation. Furthermore, those monastic churches were considered to have succumbed over time to secularisation, the most obvious manifestation of which was the scandal of hereditarily entrenched laicised clergy occupying the headship of churches, whose chief interest lay in the exploitation of the great landed ecclesiastical estates with their dependent tenantry at the expense of more spiritual concerns. Thus, the headship of the church of Armagh was dominated, in the words of Bernard of Clairvaux, by a tyrannical race in a 'wickedness that persisted over fifteen generations'.[7] Bernard was alluding to the Clann Sínaich, whose unbroken monopoly from 966 was ended with the accession of Malachy as bishop of Armagh in 1132.[8]

More recent scholarship has greatly refined understanding of the respective functions of bishops and monastic abbots, as well as highlighting the additional category of heads of churches who were styled *princeps* or *airchinnech*.[9] Arguably, what was most distinctive about the Irish church was the development of a separation of functions, whereby the temporal lordship, or landlordly responsibilities, for a church and its estates might be vested in the hands of an individual who was neither a bishop nor an abbot and not necessarily in major ordained orders, but who was nonetheless accorded the legal privileges of a high-ranking ecclesiastic by virtue of his control of the economic assets of an important church – that is, clerical status and privilege was extended to heads of churches who were not in higher celibate orders. The separation of management of the material resources of a church from the abbatial or episcopal functions was not necessarily

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7   *Vita Malachiae*, 329, lines 9–10; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 37; cf. Bernard's sermon preached at Malachy's requiem: *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, v, 421; below, pp. 101–2.

8   See T. Ó Fiaich, 'The church of Armagh under lay control', *Seanchas Ard Mhacha*, 5 (1969–70), 75–127; H. Pettiau, 'The officials of the church of Armagh in the early and central middle ages, to A. D. 1200' in A. J. Hughes and W. Nolan (eds), *Armagh: History and Society: Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County* (Dublin, 2001), 121–86. For Cellach, who was a member of Clann Sínaich, see below, pp. 43–4.

9   C. Etchingham, 'Bishops in the early Irish church: a reassessment', *Studia Hibernica*, 28 (1994), 35–62; *Church Organisation in Ireland, AD 650 to 1000* (Maynooth, 1999), 177–94; 'Bishoprics in Ireland and Wales in the early Middle Ages' in J. R. Guy and W. G. Neely (eds), *Contrasts and Comparisons: Studies in Irish and Welsh Church History* (Welshpool, 1999), 7–25; 'Episcopal hierarchy in Connacht and Tairdelbach Ua Conchobair', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, 52 (2000), 13–29.

the outcome of a process of degeneracy or secularisation – it is attested as early as the seventh century – but perhaps a strategy which may have been in part devised to protect episcopal office from secular concerns. The bishop and the *princeps/airchinnech* and the functions they represented were not treated as alternatives or rivals but as complementary sources of authority.[10] The major church centres were complex multi-functional institutions that were neither exclusively monastic nor episcopal; there might be a bishop, an abbot and a 'resource manager' at the same site. Such ecclesiastical settlements could include an episcopal household, a separate monastic community comprising claustral monks in the strict sense, whose vocation was the monastic liturgy, and the lay tenants of the church's landed estates, on whose behalf the monks offered their prayers and for whom a pastoral ministry was provided.[11]

In relation to the headship of a church and its dependants there was therefore a variety of possible permutations: one or more offices, or types of authority, might be combined in the same person: a bishop might also be an abbot and might also exercise the functions of temporal lordship associated with the office of *airchinnech/princeps*.[12] However, each of those offices might also be distinct or separated. The number of bishops who exercised the executive headship of their churches in the period between AD 750 and 1000 has been estimated at 45 per cent.[13] Confusion has arisen because episcopal or abbatial office might be detached from the routine administration of material assets, leading to a demarcation between a bishop's sacramental authority and control of the property that constituted the economic base of the church to which he was attached. In the case of Armagh, but also in other important churches, there was a tendency for particular families to acquire a hereditary hold on the exercise of temporal lordship. Such hereditarily entrenched families ruled in a manner similar to secular magnates and, indeed, not infrequently, were drawn from minor branches of local

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10 Etchingham, *Church Organisation*, 74, drawing on *Bretha Nemed Toísech* ('The First Judgements of Privileged Persons'), a law text containing material on clerics and other professionals.

11 The extension of monastic terminology to lay tenants of ecclesiastical estates, who were accorded a paramonastic status, has created confusion. See T. M. Charles-Edwards, 'The pastoral role of the church in the early Irish laws' in J. Blair and R. Sharpe (eds), *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester, 1992), 63–80 at 67. Richard Sharpe extends the usage of *manach* even further, arguing that it may mean not only an economic dependant but any layman in a reciprocal pastoral relationship with his local church, and can therefore 'mean something like "parishioner" ': R. Sharpe, 'Churches and communities in early medieval Ireland: towards a pastoral model' in J. Blair and R. Sharpe (eds), *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester, 1992), 81–109 at 102.

12 The application of *principatus* to churchmen in a position of authority was based on an Old Testament model of a distinction between Aaron, the *sacerdos*, and Moses, the *princeps ecclesiae*: J.-M. Picard, '*Princeps* and *principatus* in the early Irish church: a reassessment' in A. P. Smyth (ed.), *Seanchas: Studies in Early and Medieval Irish Archaeology, History and Literature in Honour of Francis J. Byrne* (Dublin, 2000), 146–60 at 149–50.

13 Of 218 bishops mentioned in the annals between 750 and 1000, ninety-seven are accorded another title of rule: in forty instances it is that of 'abbot', in twenty-eight it is *princeps/airchinnech*, in eighteen it is *heres/comarba*; and there is one case each of *cenn*, 'head', and *ríaglóir*, 'ruler': Etchingham, *Church Organisation*, 101; idem, 'Bishoprics in Ireland and Wales', 17–19.

ruling dynasties. Although they technically exercised jurisdictional powers in the name of the corporate institution of the church, increasingly they did so as hereditary monopolists of the office.

It is important to stress that bishops nonetheless retained the highest ecclesiastical ranking in the Irish church and remained responsible for the pastoral care of the laity, or, more precisely, for the training and supervision of those clergy who ministered to the laity. Ironically, therefore, bishops may have been less subject to secular pressures than elsewhere in Gregorian Christendom, since episcopal choice may not have been as contingent on the control of secular rulers in those instances where bishops did not also wield direct management of the economic resources of their church. Furthermore, the most important churches continued to be defined by their episcopal status and, notwithstanding the spread of monastic foundations from the mid sixth century onwards, bishops still continued to feature prominently in death-notices in the annals.[14] Rather than a shift from an episcopal to a predominantly monastic church, annalistic evidence suggests the development of complex ecclesiastical settlements with episcopal, abbatial and executive authority existing side by side. It was the coexistence and combinations of such offices that was to be transformed by the restructuring undertaken by the twelfth-century synods, which resulted in the absorption of executive authority into episcopal office. The ideal leader of the people of God had always been the bishop, but he now came to be regarded as also having to exercise control over the material resources of his church. The separation of functions that might result in a bishop not being in control of temporalities was ended, at least in relation to episcopal churches.[15]

Even before the twelfth-century synods there is evidence to suggest that bishops might enjoy a wider authority beyond association merely with one particular church and its appendant territory. In some annalistic death-notices bishops are accorded geographical descriptors that point to larger areas of jurisdiction; there is also evidence of a hierarchy of episcopal authority with supervisory oversight of some kind credited to a 'bishop of bishops'.[16] In tenth- and eleventh-century annals bishops are given titles in death-notices that indicate authority over areas which were coterminous with large-scale contemporary political entities, such as the 'bishops of Tuadmumu (North Munster)', whose deaths are recorded in 927, 953 and 1081.[17] This form of designation prefigures twelfth-

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14 Cf. graphs of death-notices of bishops in the Annals of Ulster between 650 and 1100 which show a more stable recording of bishops than of either abbots or *principes*: Picard, '*Princeps*', 149, 156.

15 This is not to overlook the continuity of the offices of *comarba* and *airchinnech* and a relationship between lineage groups and local churches with their attached lands (erenagh and termon lands) that survived into the sixteenth century. See K. Simms, 'Frontiers in the Irish church: regional and cultural' in T. Barry, R. Frame, and K. Simms (eds), *Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland: Essays Presented to J. F. Lydon* (London, 1995), 177–200.

16 T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Oxford, 2000), 259–76.

17 Etchingham, *Church Organisation*, 180.

century annalistic usage whereby bishops of the synodically constituted dioceses might be identified by a territorial designation rather than an episcopal see precisely in order to highlight the geographical extent of their jurisdiction. Although in the listings of dioceses created at the synod of Ráith Bressail, as preserved by Keating, the individual dioceses were named by episcopal see, contemporary annalists frequently used territorial identifiers. Thus, the bishop of Ferns was described as bishop of Uí Chennselaig in 1117 and 1135; in 1157 the bishop of Killala as bishop of Uí Amalgada; in 1161 the bishop of Ardfert as bishop of Ciarraige Luachra and the bishop of Killaloe as bishop of Tuadmumu; in 1168 the bishop of Ardagh was described as 'bishop of Conmaicne' in the Annals of Tigernach and 'bishop of the men of Bréifne' in the Annals of the Four Masters; in 1170 the bishop of Achonry as bishop of Luigne in Connacht; and in 1173 the bishop of Derry as bishop of Cenél nEógain.[18] In similar vein, a charter of Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn, king of Cenél nEógain, issued around 1157 in favour of Newry Abbey, was witnessed by the bishops of Airgialla, Ulaid, Tír Eógain and Tír Conaill – in other words, the bishops of Clogher, Down, Derry and Raphoe.[19] Among episcopal death-notices prior to the twelfth century there are also intermittently occurring titles such as 'pre-eminent bishop of Munster' or 'bishop of Leinster' which suggest an episcopal sphere that correlated with a provincial kingdom. The canonical *decretum* addressed by the people of Waterford in 1096 to Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, requesting consecration of their bishop-elect, Máel Ísu (Malchus) Ua hAinmire, was subscribed by Ferdomnach, 'bishop of the men of Leinster', and Ua Dúnáin, bishop of Mide, each of whom can be construed to have been a superior bishop of an ecclesiastical province that was deemed to be coterminous with the contemporary provincial kingdom of the same name.[20] Such designations afford evidence that an accepted form of territorially defined episcopal jurisdiction and a hierarchy of episcopal authority existed before the restructuring associated with the twelfth-century synods. Such bishoprics, however, may have been spasmodic, lacking continuous territorial definition and an uninterrupted succession of bishops, and subject to the vagaries of fluctuating political circumstances. It was, therefore, the phenomenon of unstable or changing spheres of episcopal jurisdiction that most marked out Irish church organisation as different by the beginning of the twelfth century; but it was not the lowly status of the bishop, nor the lack of any territorially delimited jurisdiction, nor a complete absence of an episcopal hierarchy, as has too often been supposed.

Towards the end of the eleventh century external criticisms of the Irish episcopate were voiced by Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury (1070–89), and repeated

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18 *AFM* 1125, 1135, 1161, 1168, 1170; *AT* 1136, 1168; *AU* 1173.

19 M. T. Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters: Texts and Contexts* (Oxford, 2005), 292–3.

20 *Sancti Anselmi Opera*, iv, 92–3 (letter 201); *Letters of Anselm*, ii, no. 201. For 'bishops of Leinster', see C. Etchingham, 'Kildare before the Normans: "a conventual and episcopal see"', *Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society*, 19 (2000–2001), 7–6.

in similar vein by his successor, Anselm (1093–1109). In a letter to Toirdelbach Ua Briain, king of Munster and high-king (*ob.* 1086), Lanfranc wrote that he had learnt that bishops in Ireland were consecrated by a single bishop, that most were ordained to vills or towns (*in villis vel civitatibus*) and that holy orders were conferred by bishops for money.[21] The canonical objection to episcopal consecration by a single bishop was that it made it difficult to distinguish between a bishop and a priest. In the same sentence Lanfranc commented that infants were being baptised without the use of consecrated chrism.[22] The oil of chrism was blessed on Holy Thursday by the bishop and distributed to the priests under his jurisdiction for use in baptism and the last rites, and Lanfranc may have been adverting not only to a defective baptismal rite but to inadequate observance of that particular episcopal function;[23] in other words, Lanfranc was emphasising that the blessing of chrism was one of the special privileges of a bishop that distinguished him from the other clerical grades. Anselm was to repeat Lanfranc's admonitions in slightly different form in a letter to the Munster king, Muirchertach Ua Briain (*ob.* 1119), emphasising that at least three bishops ought to be present at, and participate in, an episcopal consecration, and that bishops should have a designated diocese (*certa parochia*) and pastoral population (*populus*).[24] Anselm did not reiterate the charge levelled by Lanfranc of simony – that holy orders were conferred by Irish bishops in return for money;[25] neither was investiture with the insignia of office by a lay authority, which was such a contentious issue among Gregorian reformers on the Continent, an accusation made against Irish bishops. In the Irish church the principal insignia, notably the pastoral staff, passed directly from the deceased cleric to his successor.[26] What the Canterbury correspondence indicates, therefore, is that from a reformist perspective there were considered to be too many bishops in the Irish church. As Bernard of Clairvaux observed in his Life of Malachy, 'bishops were changed without order or reason and they were multiplied at the whim of the metropolitan

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21 *Letters of Lanfranc*, no. 10. For the view that Lanfranc's phrase *quod in villis vel civitatibus plures ordinanter* should be read as referring to the occurrence of more than one bishop in a single diocese, as at Canterbury when Lanfranc arrived there, rather than there being many bishops in villages or small towns, see H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk, and Archbishop* (Oxford, 2003), 145, n. 31.

22 Cf. below, p. 112, for a decree of the synod of Ráith Bressail relating to the blessing of chrism by bishops during the Easter ceremonies.

23 The earliest evidence for baptismal chrism is the writings of St Patrick, which allude to the chrism still fresh on the foreheads of his newly baptised Christians, while the baptism rite in the Stowe missal described three separate acts of unction: F. E. Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual in the Celtic Church*, 2nd edn; ed. J. Stevenson, Studies in Celtic History, 9 (Woodbridge, 1987), 65–6.

24 *Sancti Anselmi Opera*, v, 383; *Letters of Anselm*, iii, no. 435.

25 The original Simonist (Acts, 8:18–24) had made his offer in hard cash. It may be pertinent that coined money was not in circulation in the same quantities in Ireland. Cf. A. Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1979), 63–7.

26 Cf. below, p. 117.

until one episcopal see was not satisfied with one bishop, but almost every single church had its own bishop'.[27]

How far the criticism of defective episcopal consecration was warranted is difficult to judge owing to a paucity of twelfth-century evidence, especially in relation to canon law and liturgical procedures. The most comprehensive canon law collection of Irish provenance, the Irish Canon Collection (*Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*), 716×25, a systematic compilation of canon law authorities, had specified that episcopal consecration required the participation of at least three bishops and the consent of the metropolitan. One manuscript variant of the Collection contains an addition that *conepiscopi*, defined as 'deputies of bishops or of a population group', might be consecrated by the bishop of an adjoining *civitas*.[28] An emendation of *conepiscopus* to *chorepiscopus* was proposed by Donnchadh Ó Corráin, citing the analogy of the chorbishop, or coadjutor bishop, of seventh- and eighth-century Francia, who did not dwell in a cathedral city and lacked full episcopal dignity.[29] The term chorbishop does not occur in the A recension of the Irish Canon Collection, but appears in several tenth-century manuscripts of the B recension.[30] Opposition to chorbishops may, in part, be responsible for complaints made by the archbishops of Canterbury about the inordinately high numbers of bishops in the Irish church and their irregular consecrations, in that such bishops may have been consecrated by only one other bishop. The most sustained undermining of the chorepiscopate, which sought to reduce chorbishops to the status of mere presbyters, is to be found in the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, which was such an influential text for Lanfranc, one of his priorities for the English church being the abolition of such offices.[31]

Geoffrey Keating's account of the synod of Kells (1152) recorded the presence of Domnall Ua Fócarta, 'vicar-general of the bishop of Osraige (*biocáire genearálta easpuig Osruighe*)', and Gilla in Choimded Ua hArdmaíl, 'vicar-general' of the bishop of Emly.[32] Keating's usage is surely anachronistic, although one may wonder whether 'vicar-general' might have been used to

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27 *Vita Malachiae*, 330, lines 8–10; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 38.

28 *Conepiscopi, i.e. vicarii episcoporum vel unius plebis ab uno episcopo ordinetur, hi autem a solo episcopo civitatis, cui adjacent ordinentur*: H. Wasserschleben (ed.), *Die Irische Kanonensammlung*, revised edition (Leipzig, 1885), 5, note (i), citing Paris BN Lat. 3182 (saec. X/1).

29 D. Ó Corráin, 'Irish vernacular law and the old testament' in P. Ní Chatháin and M. Richter (eds), *Irland und die Christenheit: Bibelstudien und Mission / Ireland and Christendom: The Bible and the Missions* (Stuttgart, 1987), 284–307 at 306.

30 R. Reynolds, 'Clerics in the early Middle Ages: hierarchies and functions' in his *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages: Hierarchy and Image* (Aldershot, 1999), I, 1–31 at 23.

31 P. Hinschius (ed.), *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Angilramni* (Leipzig, 1863), 509–13; below, p. 56, n. 112; Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, 118, 145.

32 *FFE*, iii, 316–17. The first section in Latin stated that *viginti duos episcopos et quinque electos* were present, but when naming the bishops in attendance Keating switched to Irish. For a wholly Latin version with bishops (rather than vicar-generals) of Ossory and Emly in attendance, which was transcribed in the seventeenth-century *ex Ms Libro vetusto D. Flannani mac Aegain*, see Holland, 'The synod of Kells in MS BL, Add. 4783', *Peritia*, 19 (2005), 171–2; above, p. 2, n. 7.

render a Latin term such as *vicarius* or *vices* in his source. Since Keating's two 'vicar-generals' are subsequently attested as bishops of Ossory and Emly, and since Keating had previously stated that five bishops-elect were in attendance at the opening of the synod, the two may perhaps have been included among their number, pending formal consecration to those sees. The office of vicar-general, which is attested in non-Irish contexts with that name from the late thirteenth century onwards, developed from that of temporary episcopal agents appointed to act for a bishop either during absence from his diocese or because of ill-health or incapacity into a permanent officer who carried out administrative duties even when the bishop was present in his diocese. That a deputy might act for a bishop in the twelfth-century Irish church may be indicated by the delegated role conferred by Bishop Cellach of Armagh (1106–29) on Malachy while the latter was still only in priestly orders: according to Bernard of Clairvaux 'the bishop entrusted him with his own office of sowing the holy seed in a nation which was not holy; he was commissioned to give the law of life and discipline to an uncultured people who were living without law'.[33] Bernard went on to detail initiatives taken by Malachy in relation to the performance of the liturgy at Armagh because no one either within the *civitas* or the *episcopatus* 'knew how to sing or even cared'; he also described Malachy as instituting anew (*de novo*) confession, confirmation and marriage. This need not mean that Malachy administered the sacrament of confirmation as the bishop's *vices* before Malachy himself was raised to episcopal office. What pertained to the power of jurisdiction as distinct from *ordo* might be delegated, but it probably referred more generally to Malachy's zeal 'regarding the ritual and veneration of the sacraments', although it was not canonically prohibited for a priest to administer confirmation, especially if it formed part of a baptism ritual.

Periods of absence by Cellach from Armagh were certainly of sufficiently long duration to have attracted the attention of annalists and to have occasioned a need for appointment of a *vices*. In 1120 a visitation by Cellach of Munster is noted in the Annals of Ulster.[34] While this could be regarded as a routine assertion of his primatial authority, a more prolonged thirteen months' absence 'pacifying the men of Ireland, and bringing everyone, both laity and clergy, to rules and good conduct' is recorded in 1126 during a 'storm of great war in Ireland'.[35] In that instance the annalist laconically appended Cellach's pastoral activities to his role as peace negotiator. In his edition of the Annals of Ulster Gearóid Mac Niocaill translated *riagla ocus sobhesa* as 'uprightness and good conduct'. This may be misleading insofar as it obscures that *riagla* could refer to synodal activity, or at least enforcement of synodal legislation. The phrase is used, for

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33 *Episcopus etiam vices suas commisit ei, seminare semen sanctum in gente non sancta, et dare rudi populo, et sine lege viventi, legem vitae et disciplinae: Vita Malachiae*, 315–16; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 22. The Romano-Germanic pontifical allowed for the *vicarius* of a bishop to preside over a synod: below, p. 78, n. 224.

34 *AU²* 1120.4, *AI* 1120.7, *ALC, AFM* (described as Cellach's second visit).

35 *AU²* 1126.8, *ALC, AFM*.

example, by the same annalist in relation to the synod of Ráith Bressail (1111).[36] In 1128 Cellach's absence from Armagh while negotiating peace between the men of Munster and Connacht was again noted.[37] By that stage Malachy could have acted as a suffragan bishop in Cellach's stead since he had been consecrated to the see of Connor by Cellach in 1124. Bernard's chronology may have been somewhat confused in relation to Malachy's period of deputising for Cellach, but, in any case, he did not follow a strictly chronological sequence in his Life of Malachy.[38]

Undoubtedly, Cellach was a very important figure in the promotion of episcopal renewal. However, only the exceptional headline event merited inclusion in the annals, and therefore few details were recorded of his routine activities as bishop. His death-notice in the Annals of Ulster described him as 'having ordained bishops and priests, and all kinds of clerics, and having consecrated many churches and graveyards, having bestowed goods and valuables, having exhorted all, both laity and clergy, to rules and good conduct (*riagla ocus sobhesa*), having a life of saying the Hours, Mass, fasting, and prayer'.[39] At the very least, this implies the building or restoration of churches; if those were also the churches to which the graveyards were attached, they might be construed as local or parish churches ministering to lay communities, in which case Cellach could be seen to have actively exercised oversight of the pastoral needs of his diocese/province. The generalised encomiastic claims in his death-notice can be substantiated by three more informative annalistic entries. On 9 January 1125 a new shingled roof was raised on the stone church (*damliac*) at Armagh by Cellach, replacing one that was 130 years old.[40] On 21 October 1126 he consecrated the stone church of the *reiclés* of SS. Peter and Paul at Armagh that had been begun by Imar Ua hÁedacáin,[41] further testimony to a major rebuilding

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36 *AU²* 1111; above, p. 34, n. 1. For other instances, see below, pp. 166, 170.

37 *AU²* 1128.5, 1128.7, 1128.9, *ALC*, *AFM*.

38 Bernard mentioned a *coepiscopus* who witnessed a miracle that occurred while Malachy was praying at the tombs of saints at Armagh, though in that case he almost certainly meant no more than 'fellow bishop': *Vita Malachiae*, 360, line 22; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 82. Chronologically, the incident fell within Malachy's period as legate, 1140–48. During Cellach's episcopate (1106–29) the assumption of episcopal office by Máel Coluim Ua Brolcháin in 1107 and his death in 1122, styled 'bishop of Armagh', are recorded: *AU²* 1107.7, 1122.6, *AFM* 1122. According to Gwynn, *Irish Church*, 140, 187, 259, this is an error whereby the annalist confused Ard Macha with Árd Sratha. Cf. *NHI*, ix, 240–41, 280, where it is suggested that Máel Coluim Ua Brolcháin, styled 'bishop of Armagh' on his death in 1122, and Máel Brigte Ua Brolcháin, 'bishop of Armagh' on his death in 1139, may each have ruled the embryonic diocese of Cenél nEógain from Armagh during a transitional period before the stranglehold of Clann Sínaich was broken. This would allow for *conepiscopi*, or coadjutor bishops, at Armagh during Cellach's episcopate. Máel Ísu son of Máel Coluim, 'chief keeper of the calendar of Armagh, chief antiquary, and librarian', whose death is recorded at Armagh in 1136 (*AFM*), may have been a son of Máel Coluim Ua Brolcháin: Herbert, *Iona*, 115.

39 *AU²* 1129.3; cf. *ALC*, *AFM*, *AI* 1129.6, *AT*, *CS* 1125=1129.

40 *AU²* 1125.1, *AFM*.

41 *AU²* 1126.11, *AFM*. The etymology of *reiclés* is obscure, but may have derived from Latin

programme at Armagh, while in 1129 the silver chalice which Cellach had bestowed on the church of Clonmacnois was stolen;[42] the chalice had possibly been given as an expression of metropolitan authority, serving to emphasise the inclusion of Clonmacnois within the province of Armagh that had been delimited at the synod of Ráith Bressail. Two externally generated sources – Bernard of Clairvaux's Life of Malachy and the Vision of Tnugdal – also highlight Cellach's importance as a reforming bishop. In the Vision of Tnugdal its eponymous visionary, Tnugdal, encounters Cellach as an associate of St Patrick in heaven, alongside St Malachy of Armagh and Nehemias, bishop of Cloyne.[43]

Cellach's own episcopate, despite what little information can be recovered, marked a significant turning-point at Armagh because he exercised both the episcopal office and the executive headship of the church of Armagh: he conjoined episcopal authority with control of the material assets of Armagh; and, crucially also, he espoused the cause of reform, notwithstanding that he himself was from the hereditarily entrenched Clann Sínaich. That Cellach's commitment to a reform agenda was more than a cynical ploy to preserve the dominance of his own family is evidenced by his nomination shortly before his death of Malachy as his successor at Armagh. Bernard of Clairvaux implicitly acknowledged that Cellach's advance designation of Malachy as his successor might not have been in conformity with a canonical election. As Bernard phrased it, Cellach 'made a sort of last testament (*fecit quasi testamentum*)' that Malachy should succeed him.[44] Nomination by a *princeps*, or a bishop, of his successor is attested in the Irish Canon Collection. In Book 37, *De Principatu* ('On Ecclesiastical Rulership'), it is stated that a *princeps* was permitted to designate his successor during his own lifetime. Under that general heading one item reads 'the bishop who rules a church, convenes the elders and notifies them of his choice'.[45] Cellach ruled the church of Armagh as bishop and executive head, and his nomination of his successor might therefore be said to have been in accordance with the Irish Canon Collection since he also exercised the *principatus* of the church of Armagh. Cellach's aim in nominating Malachy was to obviate the possibility of external interference in the choice of his successor, and, more particularly, to ensure that no Clann Sínaich recidivist resumed the headship of the church of Armagh. In the event, Cellach's fears were amply justified since, as recorded in the annals, it took Malachy more than two years following his consecration in

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reclusum and signified a small church within a larger ecclesiastical complex: A. Macdonald, '*Reiclés* in the annals', *Peritia*, 13 (1999), 259–75; C. Manning, 'References to church buildings in the annals' in A. P. Smyth (ed.), *Seanchas: Studies in Early and Medieval Irish Archaeology, History and Literature in Honour of Francis J. Byrne* (Dublin, 2000), 37–52 at 41.

42 *AT, AFM, CS* 1125=1129.

43 *Visio Tnugdali*, *55; *Vision of Tnugdal*, 155. For the variant Latinised versions of Cellach's name, see below, p. 108. For Nehemias, see below, pp. 99–100.

44 *Vita Malachiae*, 328, line 23; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 37.

45 *Episcopus qui praeest ecclesiae convocat seniores et indicat eis electionem suam*: Picard, '*Princeps*' 152, citing from two unpublished manuscripts of the Irish Canon Collection.

1132 to acquire control of the insignia and temporal assets of the church of Armagh in 1134.[46] Advance designation by an incumbent of his successor was not, of course, unique to the Irish church, but elsewhere it tended to occur in relation to abbacies rather than bishoprics. Malachy, in turn, was to secure the installation of his own preferred successor, Gilla Meic Liac (Gelasius), abbot of Derry, before he resigned the see of Armagh in 1136.[47] At the very least, a concern to determine the choice of a suitable successor is testimony to a reformist agenda in relation to episcopal personnel.

In general, how bishops conceived of or exercised their pastoral responsibilities in relation to clergy and laity is difficult to discern given the dearth, or very poor quality, of surviving twelfth-century synodal legislation, episcopal *acta* or episcopal registers. Only in the case of Gillebertus, bishop of Limerick (*ob.* 1145), is it possible to come close to gaining some insight into episcopal concerns, if not achievements.[48] Gillebertus's career highlights yet again the severe problems of evidence, with partial information about his episcopate preserved in Irish and in externally generated sources. Of Gillebertus's background, training and consecration as bishop, little is known. Aubrey Gwynn assumed him to have been consecrated as the first bishop of Limerick around 1106 by Cellach of Armagh during the latter's visitation of Munster,[49] since it was plain from a letter which Gillebertus wrote to Archbishop Anselm that he had not been consecrated at Canterbury. The letter alludes to 'the labour of your struggle and the victory of your labour, namely that the unrestrained minds of the Normans have been subjected to the decretal rules of the holy fathers, so that the election and consecration of abbots and bishops is done acccording to law'.[50] This comment testifies to Gillebertus's awareness of canonical procedures. Anselm's letter of reply to Gillebertus adverted to the fact that the two men had

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46 *Vita Malachiae*, 328–34; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 38–40; *MIA* 1134.2, *CS* 1130=1134, *AT*, *AFM* 1134.

47 *Vita Malachiae*, 338, line 16 (the word used is *constituit*); *St Malachy the Irishman*, 47. It is more difficult to understand by what authority in 1138 Malachy, as bishop of Down and before his appointment as papal legate in 1140, chose Áed (Edanus) Ua Cáellaide from among three of his *discipuli* to succeed Gilla Críst (Christianus), Malachy's own brother, as bishop of Louth/ Clogher: *Vita Malachiae*, 341; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 50. Gilla Críst had become bishop of Airgialla in 1135 – that is, during Malachy's tenure of Armagh – and, as metropolitan, Malachy may be presumed to have had a role in his selection.

48 The Latinised forename in his treatise and correspondence with Archbishop Anselm (the form in the latter is Gislebertus) has been retained here since it occurs in manuscripts of twelfth-century date. For the suggestion that his vernacular forename was Gille, see J. Fleming, *Gille of Limerick (c. 1070–1145): Architect of a Medieval Church* (Dublin, 2001), 38–40.

49 A. Gwynn, 'The diocese of Limerick in the twelfth century', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 5 (1947), 35–48 at 36. Gwynn alternatively suggested that the consecration might have been performed by Bishop Máel Muire Ua Dúnáin.

50 *Certaminis tui laborem et laboris victoriam, subditas esse videlicet indomitas Normannorum mentes regularibus sanctorum patrum decretis, ut legaliter fiat abbatum et praesulum electio et consecratio*: *Sancti Anselmi Opera*, v, 374–5; *Letters of Anselm*, iii, no. 428; Fleming, *Gille*, 164–5. The letter is preserved only in Anselm's letter collection.

met in Rouen.[51] The circumstances of that encounter remain unknown, but what may be significant about the location, from the perspective of Gillebertus's career, is that the ecclesiastical province of Rouen and its metropolitan archbishops were in the forefront of Continental reform. A series of provincial councils under reforming prelates had been convened from around 1040 onwards (approximately eighteen between 1040 and the council of Lillebonne in 1080) and had issued decrees on a wide range of issues, notably in relation to clerical morals and discipline, liturgical order and marriage.[52] After the 1080 council of Lillebonne the provincial synod of Rouen met less frequently, although synods are recorded in 1091 and 1096 under Archbishop William Bonne Ame (Bona Anima, 1079–1110), the latter reiterating the decisions of Pope Urban II's great council of Clermont that had met in November 1095.

Clermont was among the most important synods of the central Middle Ages and the occasion of the first papal visit to France since Leo IX's brief appearance at Reims in 1049. It is best known for Urban's preaching of the first crusade, but this was far from being its only purpose and it produced a substantial amount of reformist legislation, possibly as many as sixty decrees.[53] At a synod in Rouen in 1096 Archbishop William read out the decrees of the council of Clermont before himself adding another seven canons. Typically, the provincial councils of Rouen were closed councils: bishops or other clergy from outside the province did not attend. As for Clermont, no English bishop is recorded to have attended, although Archbishop Anselm sent Boso of Bec as his agent.[54] It is unlikely, therefore, that Gillebertus, who must in any case have been a relatively young man at that stage,[55] would have been on the Continent in connection with either a council of the Rouen province or the papal council of Clermont.

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51 *Sancti Anselmi Opera*, v, 375–6; *Letters of Anselm*, iii, no. 429; Fleming, *Gille*, 166–9. The phrase *sublimavit in Hibernia vestram prudentiam ad tantam dignitatem* may imply that Anselm assumed that Gillebertus had been consecrated in Ireland. Whether or not the Irishman, who is the butt of the satire of Warner of Rouen, was a historical figure, Warner's poem attests to the likelihood of Irishmen being found at Rouen in the early eleventh century: Warner of Rouen, *Moriuht: A Norman Latin Poem from the Early Eleventh Century*; ed. C. J. McDonough, Studies and Texts, 121 (Toronto, 1995). For evidence of trade in marten skins between Ireland and Rouen that dated back to the reign of Henry I (1100–35), see J. H. Round, *Feudal England: Historical Studies on the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (London, 1895), 465–7 (repaginated 1964 edition), 353–4. For Lives of Irish saints circulating in Normandy, see J.-M. Picard, 'Early contacts between Ireland and Normandy: the cult of Irish saints in Normandy before the conquest' in M. Richter and J.-M. Picard (eds), *Ogma: Essays in Celtic Studies in Honour of Próinséas Ní Chatháin* (Dublin, 2002), 85–93.

52 R. Foreville, 'The synod of the province of Rouen in the eleventh and twelfth centuries' in C. N. L. Brooke, D. E. Luscombe, G. H. Martin and D. Owen (eds), *Church and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to C. R. Cheney on his 70th Birthday* (Cambridge, 1976), 19–39.

53 See R. Somerville, *The Councils of Urban II, Vol. 1: Decreta Claromontensia*, Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum, supplement 1 (Amsterdam, 1972).

54 R. W. Southern, *St Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge, 1990), 202–3.

55 According to Bernard of Clairvaux Gillebertus resigned the office of papal legate in 1139 on the eve of Malachy's first journey to the Continent on grounds of age and debility: *Vita Malachiae*,

Even if no Irish ecclesiastic was present, the council of Clermont may, none-
theless, have had an impact on the Irish church, since its decrees appear to have
formed the basis for acts of the synod of Cashel (1101). It is unfortunate that the
decrees of Clermont do not survive in any complete or authoritative form,[56] but,
worse still, the extant acts of the synod of Cashel – eight in total – survive only in
a modern Irish translation from a presumed Latin original that was inserted into
two eighteenth-century Munster genealogical collections.[57] The first decree of
the synod of Cashel, forbidding the purchase of churches,[58] and the fifth decree,
enjoining clerical celibacy, are reminiscent of acts passed at Clermont that
prescribed celibacy for all priests, deacons and subdeacons, and forbade women
from living in clerics' houses.[59] This latter prohibition may be compared with the
fifth decree at Cashel 'that no superior of a church should have a woman'.[60] The
Clermont decree that the goods of clerics should be safe from lay pillaging and
that goods of clergy should remain in the deceased's church, except for what had
been distributed for his soul, may have formed the basis for the seventh decree of
the synod of Cashel, 'that the due of the cleric [or the poet] should not be given to
a lay person'.[61] Clermont legislated against a cleric holding two titles in two sep-
arate churches, or two honours in one church.[62] This provides the closest analogy
between Clermont and Cashel: the fourth decree at Cashel is 'that there shall not
be two superiors in one church, except in a church where two provinces march'.[63]
A Clermont decree that laymen should not obtain ecclesiastical revenues or with-

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344; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 52. For Gillebertus's death in 1145, see below, p. 54, n. 103, p. 97, n. 30.

56 Their transmission has been described as 'chaotic': Somerville, *The Councils of Urban*, 7. Many of the so-called canons are merely synopses, chapter headings or titles for actual decrees: ibid., 21.

57 S. H. O'Grady and R. Flower (eds), *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh*, 2 vols, Irish Texts Society, 26, 27 (London, 1929), i, 174–5, ii, 185–6; T. Ó Donnchadha (ed.), *An Leabhar Muimhneach maraon le Suim Aguisíní*, Irish Manuscripts Commission (Dublin, 1940), 341.

58 *Gan ceannach eaglaise Dé do athlaochaibh ná do aithchléirc[h]ibh go bráth*, is, in effect, a prescription against simony. See D. Ó Corráin, 'The synod of Cashel, 1101: conservative or inno-vative?' in D. Edwards (ed.), *Regions and Rulers in Ireland, 1100–1650* (Dublin, 2004), 13–19 at 15; Somerville, *The Councils of Urban*, 75, 92, 105–6, 109, 111, 114, 126, 143.

59 Somerville, *The Councils of Urban*, 144; Ó Corráin, 'The synod of Cashel', 15–16.

60 *Gan bean do bheith ag oircheannach cille ann*: Ó Corráin, 'The synod of Cashel', 16.

61 Somerville, *The Councils of Urban*, 147; *gan cion an chléirigh, nó an fhile do thabhairt don tuata*: Ó Corráin, 'The synod of Cashel', 17. I concur with Ó Corráin that the reference to the poet, even though it may reflect a privilege, long-established by the twelfth century, of drawing analogies between clergy and the lay learned elite, is likely to be a later gloss and not part of the original decree.

62 Somerville, *The Councils of Urban*, 76–7, 90, 109, 111, 114, 145. This repeated the prohibition of the 1059 council convened by Pope Nicholas II in the Lateran *nec aliquis presbyter duas aecclesias simul obtineat*: Canon 8 in MGH, *Leges IV, Constitutiones*, i (Hanover, 1893), 548, no. 384.

63 [*Gan*] *dá oirchennach do beith i n-aenchill acht ar in gcill do bheith I gcomhrac dá chóigeadh'*: Ó Corráin, 'The synod of Cashel', 16. The Cashel exception, assuming that it was part of the orig-inal decrees and not a later gloss, allowed for a church in a border location to have two heads

hold or receive tithes may possibly be reflected in the second decree at Cashel 'that neither king nor lord is entitled to levy rent or tax on the church in Ireland', although this more likely refers to impositions such as *coinnmed* or *cís*.[64] Marriage within seven degrees of consanguinity was prohibited by the council of Clermont,[65] while the eighth decree of the synod of Cashel, as now extant, is concerned with the prohibition of marital relationships by affinity rather than consanguinity: 'that no man in Ireland shall have to wife his father's wife, or his grandfather's wife, or any other woman so near related', though it reflects the same limits of prohibition as in the case of consanguinity, namely to the seventh degree.[66] It is likely that it originally referred also to forbidden degrees of consanguinity.

Analogies between the decrees of Clermont (1095) and Cashel (1101) bear out Donnchadh Ó Corráin's argument that Cashel should not be interpreted as the actions of a conservative church 'moving somewhat bumblingly to make ameliorative adjustments to their own eccentric Irish ecclesiastical establishment'.[67] Rather they betoken a genuine commitment to implement recent papal conciliar legislation and imply a greater awareness of contemporary reform currents than historians have allowed. Although it has been suggested that the decrees of the synod of Cashel do not in fact constitute a point of new departure for reform in the Irish church because they are 'a restatement of laws that are known to have already existed',[68] such a contention overlooks the fact that the reassertion of ancient truth was itself a reformist strategy. The Gregorian reform movement was characterised by the reaffirmation and reiteration of normative texts and long-held principles. The determination to convert ancient ideals into now-to-be-enforced realities, as, for example, in relation to clerical celibacy, could in itself constitute a new departure. What changed was less inherited doctrine than the way that doctrine came to be understood and enforced. Much Continental conciliar legislation was characterised by the continual reiteration of earlier decrees.

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since such a church was likely to have property in two over-kingdoms and therefore to have drawn clergy from both areas.

64 Somerville, *The Councils of Urban*, 146; *gan cíos ná cáin do rígh ná do thaoiseach ón eaglais i nÉirinn go bráth*: Ó Corráin, 'The synod of Cashel', 16. Cf. Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters*, 77–9.

65 Somerville, *The Councils of Urban*, 95, 148.

66 *Gan ben a athar ná a senathar, nó a siúr nó a [h-]inghean, do beith 'na mnaoi ag fear i nEirinn, nó bean a dhearbhráthair, nó bean ar bith chomh fogus sin i ngaol do*: Ó Corráin, 'The synod of Cashel', 17; idem, 'From sanctity to depravity: church and society in medieval Ireland' in N. Ó Ciosáin (ed.), *Explaining Change in Cultural History* (Dublin, 2005), 140–62 at 150–56. Further discussion, below, pp. 184–95.

67 Ó Corráin, 'The synod of Cashel', 13.

68 M. Holland, 'Were early Irish church establishments under lay control?' in D. Bracken and D. Ó Riain-Raedel (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century: Reform and Renewal* (Dublin, 2006), 128–42 at 128; A. Candon, 'Power, politics and poygamy [sic]: women and marriage in late pre-Norman Ireland', in D. Bracken and D. Ó Riain-Raedel (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century: Reform and Renewal* (Dublin, 2006), 106–27 at 126, where it is suggested that, in relation to the decrees of the synod of Cashel, 1101, on marriage within prohibited degrees of kinship, 'collectively the Irish church was thumbing its nose to Rome'.

Pope Gregory VII regularly claimed to be a 'restorer' and counterposed 'canonical truth' with 'evil custom'.[69] The term 'reform' encompasses intentionally provoked, or systematically implemented, series of changes that include the revival, restoration or implementation of ancient ideals or lapsed practices. Thus, Bernard of Clairvaux attributed to Malachy the revival of older traditions that had lapsed owing to the negligence of the Irish clergy.[70]

Allowing for deficiencies in transmission of the extant versions of the decrees of Clermont and Cashel, and especially the translation of the latter at some undetermined date from Latin into Irish which renders detailed analysis difficult, there are nonetheless clearly identifiable analogies with the council of Clermont.[71] As recently reiterated by Martin Brett, the synod of Cashel's 'insistence on the freedom of clergy from secular jurisdiction and the eradication of simony aligns it squarely with a multitude of recent reform synods';[72] to which general observation may be added that Clermont was the most important of those recent reform synods.

Other than that Gillebertus had met Anselm at Rouen at a time – as is plain from their exchange of letters – when Gillebertus had not yet been consecrated as a bishop, there is a dearth of information about the Continental dimension of Gillebertus's career.[73] It is possible, however, to reconstruct Anselm's visits to Normandy and thereby to suggest when the two men could have met. There are several possible periods. The first is between 1060 and 1093, while Anselm was still in the monastery of Bec;[74] but given that Gillebertus died in 1145, so early a date would be highly unlikely. Anselm was elevated to the see of Canterbury on

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69 See G. B. Ladner, 'Two Gregorian letters on the sources and nature of Gregory VII's reform ideology', *Studi Gregoriani*, 5 (1956), 221–42.

70 See below, p. 106.

71 This is not to imply that the decrees of Clermont were novel. Many reiterated earlier legislation. Cf. R. Somerville and S. Kuttner, *Pope Urban II, the* Collectio Britannica, *and the Council of Melfi (1089)* (Oxford, 1996), 168, 202, 213, 226, 235, 253, 276, 279, 286–7, 294–8.

72 M. Brett, 'Canterbury's perspective on church reform and Ireland, 1070–1115' in D. Bracken and D. Ó Riain-Raedel (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century: Reform and Renewal* (Dublin, 2006), 14.

73 There is no evidence to substantiate the suggestion that Gillebertus may have been the boy of that name mentioned by Orderic Vitalis as having been educated by Abbot Thierry of St Évroul: B. Hudson, 'Gaelic princes and Gregorian reform' in B. T. Hudson and V. Ziegler (eds), *Crossed Paths: Methodological Approaches to the Celtic Aspect of the European Middle Ages* (Lanham, NY, 1991), 61–82 at 68. More pertinent for Gillebertus's presence at Rouen may have been trading contacts between Limerick and Rouen. In 1079 a deputation of five Jews from overseas had come with gifts to Toirdelbach Ua Briain, king of Munster, who by that date controlled Limerick, suggesting that they were looking for some favour: *AI* 1079.3. Cf. above, n. 51. The largest Jewish community in Europe at that time was to be found in Rouen whence William Rufus, king of England (1087–1100) transferred Jews to London: R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom (eds), *William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, 2 vols, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1998–9), i, 562–3. Gillebertus stated that the door-keeper was responsible for ensuring that no Jew was to be in the church at the 'hour of sacrifice': Fleming, *Gille*, 152–3.

74 See R. W. Southern, 'Anselm' in *ODNB*, ii, 247–58 at 249–51.

6 March 1093 and between November 1097 and August 1100 he was absent from England, journeying to and from Rome.[75] A third period is during Anselm's three-year self-imposed exile arising from his dispute with Henry I: Anselm left England in April 1103 and did not return until after August 1106.[76] He spent the summer of 1103 at his former monastery of Bec and from January 1104 until April 1105 he was at Lyons. He was definitely at Rouen in the spring of 1106, when he lifted the excommunication of Archbishop William of Rouen during an ecclesiastical council.[77] Since Gillebertus appears to allude in his letter to Anselm's dispute with the king,[78] it is most likely that Gillebertus encountered Anselm at Rouen in the spring of 1106.[79] The restrained tone of Anselm's reply may suggest that Gillebertus was not that well known to him.[80]

Anselm's biographer, Eadmer, related how Anselm attracted religious men eager to hear his sermons,[81] and it may have been on some such occasion that Gillebertus had encountered him at Rouen. Analogy may be drawn with Bishop Máel Ísu (Malchus) Ua hAinmire of Waterford, who wrote to Anselm requesting a copy of his treatise on the Holy Trinity for the clergy of Ireland, a work which Máel Ísu said he had learnt had recently been endorsed by the pope; he also reminded Anselm that he had previously asked for a copy of his sermon on the Incarnation which Máel Ísu had heard Anselm deliver in person on the feast of St Martin (11 November).[82] Máel Ísu was consecrated by Anselm as bishop of Waterford on 27 December 1096 and, in the view of Richard Southern, Máel Ísu must have heard Anselm preach at St Omer on 11 November 1097.[83] However, Walter Fröhlich suggested the probable date was 11 November 1096 – that is, prior to Máel Ísu's consecration.[84] It is indeed more likely that Máel Ísu heard Anselm preach in England, and possibly at Winchester, where Máel Ísu was

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75   Itinerary in M. Brett and J. A. Gribbin (eds), *English Episcopal Acta, 28: Canterbury, 1070–1136* (Oxford, 2004), 98–9.

76   Ibid., 100–101.

77   M. Rule (ed.), *Eadmeri Historia Novorum in Anglia*, Rolls Series (London (1884), 177–80.

78   Above, p. 45.

79   For endorsement of this date, see A. Gwynn, 'Ireland and the continent in the eleventh century', *Irish Historical Studies*, 7 (1953), 193–216 at 212.

80   Anselm's letter has been variously dated, but for a date after the settlement of the investiture dispute in August 1107 and before Anselm's death in May 1109, see Brett, 'Canterbury's perspective', 26, n. 30.

81   R. W. Southern (ed.), *The Life of St Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury by Eadmer*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1972), 73.

82   *Sancti Anselmi Opera*, iv, 101–2 (no. 207); *Letters of Anselm*, ii, no. 207. R. W. Southern identified the sermon with the *Epistola de Incarnatione Verbi*, which went through five recensions and was dedicated by Anselm to Pope Urban II: Southern, *The Life of St Anselm*, 72; idem, *St Anselm: A Portrait*, 177–81.

83   Southern, *The Life of St Anselm*, 72–3, 101.

84   *Letters of Anselm*, ii, 151. Anselm's whereabouts between 8 June and 28 December 1096 are not detailed, but he is placed at St Omer on 11 November 1097 in the itinerary in Brett and Gribbin, *English Episcopal Acta, 28*, 97–8. For the dating of Anselm's works, see now R. Sharpe, 'Anselm as author: publishing in the late eleventh century', *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 19 (2009), 1–87 at

trained as a Benedictine monk,[85] or at Canterbury; in any case before his epis-copal consecration. Following his consecration as bishop of Waterford, Máel Ísu's overseas contacts evidently remained sufficiently informative for him to know that Anselm had left England, and to be able to send Anselm a letter, and that Pope Urban II had endorsed Anselm's treatise on the Incarnation at the council of Bari in October 1098.[86]

Frustratingly, the place of Gillebertus's clerical formation and the possible influences and models for his episcopal pastorate and range of his overseas contacts remain unknown, but other English connections are attested in addition to his correspondence with Anselm. On 19 September 1115 Gillebertus assisted Anselm's successor, Ralph d'Escures, archbishop of Canterbury, at the consecra-tion of Bernard as bishop of St Davids at Westminster Abbey.[87] This need not have signified an acknowledgement on the part of Gillebertus of the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury, even if Anselm's biographer, the Canterbury monk Eadmer, sought to present it in that way; as Mark Philpott expressed it, Gillebertus's presence may be interpreted as adding 'a touch of international glamour to the consecration'.[88] Before Bernard's elevation to the see of St Davids he had been chaplain to Queen Matilda, wife of King Henry I of England and daughter of Margaret, queen of Scots, and, according to Eadmer, the conse-cration ceremony was moved from Lambeth to Westminster at the request of the queen, who wished to be present for the consecration of her former chaplain. Philpott has drawn attention to yet another occasion when Gillebertus was to be found in the company of Queen Matilda. Either during 1115 or at some other time between 1115 and May 1118, when Matilda died, Gillebertus was staying with Queen Matilda in London when he was summoned to St Albans to dedicate chapels of St Nicholas and SS. Cosmos and Damien as well as the church of St Stephen in the town of St Albans for Abbot Richard (1097–1119), as recorded in the *Liber additamentorum* of the thirteenth-century St Albans historian Matthew Paris.[89] What significance should be attached to Gillebertus's consecration of

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45, n. 113, who suggests that Malchus is more likely to have heard Anselm preach in England in 1096. Sharpe highlights the dangers of relying on Schmitt's dating of Anselm's letters.

85 Letter of dimission from Walchelin, bishop of Winchester, consenting to the request of the king, clergy and people of Ireland to have his monk, Malchus, consecrated as bishop of Waterford: *Sancti Anselmi Opera*, iv, 93–4, no. 202; *Letters of Anselm*, no. 202; cf. *Vita Malachiae*, 316–17; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 24.

86 Anselm was himself present: Southern, *The Life of St Anselm*, 72–3, 101–2; Rule, *Eadmeri His-toria*, 104–6; D. Whitelock, M. Brett, and C. N. L. Brooke (eds), *Councils and Synods: with other Documents Relating to the English Church, I, AD 871–1204* (Oxford, 1981), i, part 2, 650.

87 Rule, *Eadmeri Historia*, 236.

88 Philpott, 'Some interactions', 202.

89 Matthew Paris, *Liber Additamentorum*, incorporated into the *Gesta Abbatum*: H. T. Riley (ed.), *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani a Thoma Walsingham, Regnante Ricardo Secundo, ejusdem Ecclesiae Praecentore, Compilata*, 3 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1867–69), i, 184. I owe this reference to Philpott, 'Some interactions', 202, n. 92. Gillebertus's activities are mentioned in the context of Matthew Paris's account of Abbot Robert's (1155–66) assembly of evidence during his

churches at St Albans?[90] Samuel Ua hAingliu, who was consecrated as bishop of Dublin by Anselm on 27 April 1096, is known to have been a Benedictine monk at St Albans,[91] but Gillebertus's presence at St Albans does not permit the interpretation that he too had been a monk there. The chance notice at some time between 1108 and 1115 of the presence of 'Mauricius, a former bishop of Ireland (*quodam episcopo Hiberniae Mauricio*)',[92] at a judgement delivered by Richard, bishop of London, alongside Reinhelm, bishop of Hereford, in an assembly at Wistanstow (Shrops.) in the diocese of Hereford, serves as a caution against such an assumption. That an otherwise unknown Irish bishop was to be found in the diocese of Hereford around the time that Gillebertus was consecrating churches for the abbey of St Albans suggests only a fraction of the travels in England of Irish bishops may have been recorded.[93] The posited identification by Falko Neininger of Bishop Mauricius with Bishop Máel Ísu Ua hAinmire of Waterford is unlikely to be correct since Máel Ísu's Latinised name of Malchus is well attested in both his own correspondence and the letters addressed to him by Anselm,[94] and he was also known by that name to Bernard of Clairvaux.[95] Mauricius cannot be securely identified with any known bishop from extant Irish sources; but then neither can Marcus, *Cluanensis episcopus*, who around 1148 issued an indulgence to the cathedral priory of Bath:[96] further confirmation of the poor quality of the evidence relating to the twelfth-century Irish episcopate.[97] Also unidentifiable is the Irish bishop to whom Geoffrey, abbot of Burton on Trent (1114–50), sent letters around 1118 seeking information about St Modwenna, patron of Burton, and under whose auspices Geoffrey received a

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dispute with Bishop Robert of Lincoln over the latter's attempt to exercise episcopal jurisdiction within the abbey. Matthew Paris even claimed that Gillebertus had issued a charter certifying his consecration of the church of St Stephen of which he quoted only *ego etc.* For the *Liber additamentorum*, see R. Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge, 1958), 65–91. Gillebertus is not named among those present at the dedication of the abbey church of St Albans, which took place on 28 December 1115; the ceremony was performed by Geoffrey, archbishop of Rouen, who was assisted by bishops Richard of London, Ranulf of Durham, Robert of Lincoln, Roger of Salisbury and many other bishops and abbots: Riley, *Gesta Abbatum*, i, 71. Henry I and Queen Matilda held their Christmas court there in 1115.

90 The formal exemption of St Albans from the jurisdiction of the local bishop of Lincoln dates from the pontificate of Pope Adrian IV (1154–9): B. Bolton, 'St Albans' loyal son' in B. Bolton and A. Duggan (eds), *Adrian IV: The English Pope 1154–59: Studies and Texts* (Aldershot, 2003), 75–103 at 81, 84–8.

91 Rule, *Eadmeri Historia*, 73.

92 F. Neininger (ed.), *English Episcopal Acta, XV: London, 1076–1187* (Oxford, 1999), no. 26.

93 As suggested by Brett, 'Canterbury's perspective', 30.

94 *Sancti Anselmi Opera*, iv, 92–3,101, 191, nos. 201–2, 207, 277, *Letters of Anselm*, ii, nos 201, 202, 207, 277.

95 *Vita Malachiae*, 316, line 16, 318, line 3, 331, line 1; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 24–5, 39.

96 W. Hunt (ed.), *Two Chartularies of the Priory of St Peter at Bath*, Somerset Record Society, 7 (London, 1893), 2; M. T. Flanagan, 'A mid-twelfth-century indulgence granted by an Irish bishop to the cathedral priory of Bath', forthcoming, discusses the identity of this bishop.

97 For an unnamed Irish bishop who imparted information to William of Newburgh on the celebration of Easter in the northern province of Ireland, see below, p. 219.

manuscript of a Life of Monnenna of Killevy (co. Armagh) by the also otherwise unknown hagiographer Conchubranus.[98]

The possibility should be allowed that Gillebertus of Limerick could have received his clerical training on the Continent, as may have been the case with Dúnán, bishop of Dublin.[99] It would more readily account for Gillebertus's appointment as the first resident papal legate in Ireland, as recorded by Bernard of Clairvaux.[100] If Geoffrey Keating's version of the synod of Ráith Bressail, which he stated was derived from a now-lost Book of Clonenagh,[101] is accurate in describing Gillebertus as presiding over that synod as papal legate, then he most probably owed his appointment in the first instance to Paschal II (1099–1118).[102] A papal legation normally lapsed with the death of the pope who had made the appointment. Given the length of Gillebertus's episcopate and the fact that, on the evidence of Bernard of Clairvaux, he was still resident papal legate in Ireland in 1139 when he resigned that office to Malachy on the eve of

98   Above, pp. 15–16.
99   Above, p. 9.
100 Below, n. 102.
101 The church of Clonenagh (co. Laois) was reputed to have been founded by Colum mac Crimthainn, who was also the founder of Terryglass (co. Tipperary): A. Gwynn and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland* (London, 1970), 31–2, 45; cf. Life of St Colum of Terryglass, in Heist, *Vitae SS Hib.*, 230, where Colum is promised a jurisdiction stretching as far as the church of Clonenagh. Terryglass was an important church within the Dál Cais sphere of influence (it was located within the twelfth-century diocese of Killaloe), which may explain the prominence afforded to Gillebertus in Keating's account of the synod derived from the Book of Clonenagh.
102 There is no reference to the presence of Gillebertus at the synod of Fiad mac nAengusa (= Ráith Bressail) in the annals. Precedence is accorded to Cellach, reflecting a northern bias, followed by Máel Muire Ua Dúnáin, 'chief senior of Ireland', in *AU²* 1111.8, *ALC*, *AFM*. However, Máel Muire Ua Dúnáin is accorded precedence over Cellach in *AI*, *AT*, *CS*, *AClon*. The signatories to the decrees of the synod of Ráith Bressail, as copied by Keating from the now-lost Book of Clonenagh, are headed by Gillebertus, styled bishop of Limerick and papal legate, followed by Cellach as primate and Máel Ísu Ua hAinmire as archbishop of Cashel. This would be the correct order, since a papal legate took precedence even over a local metropolitan archbishop. A substantial input by Gillebertus at Ráith Bressail is suggested by the boundaries of the diocese of Limerick, which are delineated in greater detail than any other, with fourteen named boundary points. Referring to events in 1132, Bernard of Clairvaux described Gillebertus as the first of whom it was said that he was papal legate for the whole of Ireland (*per universam Hiberniam*) and in 1139, on the eve of Malachy's departure, he described Gillebertus resigning his legateship: *Vita Malachiae*, 344; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 52. It is conceivable that Máel Muire Ua Dúnáin, who is described in a late genealogical source as a papal legate, had exercised a more circumscribed legateship before Gillebertus – that is, that he was not legate *per universam Hiberniam*. See D. Ó Corráin, 'Máel Muire Ua Dúnáin (1040–1117), reformer' in P. de Brún, S. Ó Coileáin, and P. Ó Riain (eds), *Folia Gadelica: Essays Presented by Former Students to R. A. Breatnach* (Cork, 1983), 47–53. I have followed Ó Corráin in doubting the legateship of Ua Dúnáin. It is possible that Gillebertus of Limerick (who already had experience of overseas travel and contacts with non-native ecclesiastics, as evidenced by his meeting with Anselm at Rouen) was selected under the auspices of the king, Muirchertach Ua Briain (whose father, Toirdelbach, had received a letter from Pope Gregory VII), to go to the papal court to seek ratification of the synod's deliberations, and that Gillebertus returned as resident papal legate.

the latter's departure for the Continent, Gillebertus's legateship would have to have been renewed at least by Innocent II (1130–43), if not by his predecessors, Gelasius II (1118–19), Calixtus II (1119–24) and Honorius II (1124–30). The renewal of Gillebertus's legateship is indicative of ongoing Continental contacts that are otherwise unattested. It is particularly frustrating that there is only a solitary mention of Gillebertus in one set of Irish annals, the *Chronicum Scotorum*, which recorded his death in 1145.[103] Externally preserved sources, in the form of his correspondence with Anselm and Bernard of Clairvaux's attestation of his status as papal legate, are therefore invaluable.

Gillebertus's treatise on ecclesiastical grades

In the absence of other evidence, Gillebertus's chief claim to attention must rest on his authorship of a treatise which survives only because of its fortuitous preservation in two twelfth-century English manuscripts.[104] One of the manuscripts contains an epistolary prologue titled *De Usu Ecclesiastico*, while the treatise itself is headed *De Statu Ecclesiae*. Both these headings, however, are likely to have been later rubrical insertions and cannot securely be attributed to Gillebertus.[105] It has been suggested that Gillebertus wrote his treatise as a

103 *CS*, where his place of death is not given (lacuna between 1130 and 1159 in the Munster-based *Annals of Inisfallen*). It has been claimed that Gillebertus retired to the abbey of Bangor and died there in 1145: A. Gwynn, 'The diocese of Limerick in the twelfth century', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 5 (1946–7), 35–48 at 40; Fleming, *Gille*, 11, 46–7. This assumption rests on the fact that John Lynch (*ob.* 1677) claimed that Gillebertus was abbot of Bangor before becoming bishop of Limerick: J. Lynch, *De Praesulibus Hiberniae*, ed. J. F. O'Doherty, 2 vols, Irish Manuscripts Commission (Dublin, 1944), i, 95, ii, 72. It should be noted that Lynch did not state that Gillebertus retired to Bangor, a supposition made by Aubrey Gwynn that has been accepted as certainty. Although writing in exile in France, Lynch did have access to sources that have since disappeared, yet it would be rash to accept his claim of an association between Gillebertus and Bangor as reliable without more detailed research into Lynch's sources. For his heavy reliance on the writings of Sir James Ware and other printed works, see the review by H. G. Richardson in *English Historical Review*, 63 (1948), 241–4. Ware, however, wrote nothing about an association of Gillebertus with Bangor: J. Ware, *De Praesulibus Hiberniae Commentarius* (London, 1665), 183. For biographical details, see N. Ó Muraíle, 'Lynch, John' in *ODNB*, xxxiv, 879–80.

104 Durham Cathedral Library (DCL), B.II.35, fols. 36r–38r (text without prologue); Cambridge University Library (CUL) MS Ff.1.27, pp. 237–42 (text with prologue); Corpus Christi College Cambridge (CCCC) MS 66, p. 98 (prologue only). The two extant copies were made at Durham, one in the 1160s, the other in the late 1180s, both versions copied from the same now lost exemplar. In the view of Bernard Meehan, the twelfth-century section of CCCC MS 66 was in origin a separate manuscript that was independent of CUL B.II.35, since there are some variations in the Prologue and it is difficult to explain why two versions of the prologue would have been included in the same manuscript. That these are indeed two halves of the same book, written at Durham, which subsequently passed to the Cistercian abbey of Sawley, is argued by C. Norton, 'History, wisdom and illumination' in D. Rollason (ed.), *Symeon of Durham: Historian of Durham and the North*, Studies in North-Eastern History, 1 (Stamford, 1998), 61–105 at 63–9, 72–88.

105 The rubrics in the Sawley MS, which contains two copies of the prologue on the same opening

discussion document for the synod of Ráith Bressail.[106] The posited linkage between Gillebertus's treatise and Ráith Bressail appears to rest chiefly on the diagram that accompanies the text in the two extant manuscripts.[107] The illustration, which is an integral part of Gillebertus's original composition since he alludes to it in the main body of the text, depicts the hierarchical structure of the church as two parallel series of ascending and overarching pyramids, the latter term used by Gillebertus himself. The foundational pyramids comprise the parish under its priest, described as *parochia* and *parochia ecclesialis*, and the monastery under its abbot. The next tier of pyramids consists of bishops' dioceses which, as explained in the text, should contain at least ten and no more than one thousand of the two basic units of parish and monastery. The next tier of archiepiscopal provinces should be formed from no less than three, and no more than twenty, suffragan bishoprics. Above the archbishoprics is the primatial tier. A primate, according to Gillebertus, should have at least one archbishopric and not more than six under his authority.[108] At the apex of the pyramidal structure is the pope, and above him Christ. Chiefly because of the diagrammatic presentation – the *imago ecclesiae*, as it is referred to in both the epistolary prologue and in the main body of the text – it is the hierarchical dimension of Gillebertus's presentation that has been stressed by commentators and a link posited with the agenda of the synod of Ráith Bressail in setting up an island-wide, territorially delimited hierarchy of dioceses and archdioceses with primacy accorded to Armagh.

(across two distinct gatherings), were almost certainly written later than the text: Norton, 'History, wisdom and illumination', 69, n. 18; plates 16, 17.

106 Gwynn, *Irish Church*, 26, 125; Hudson, 'Gaelic princes and Gregorian reform', 67; M. Richter, 'Gilbert of Limerick revisited' in A. P. Smyth (ed.), *Seanchas: Studies in Early and Medieval Irish Archaeology, History and Literature in Honour of Francis J. Byrne* (Dublin, 2000), 341–7 at 341; Fleming, *Gille*, 79; M. Holland, 'Gille (Gilbert) of Limerick' in S. Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Ireland: An Encyclopedia* (New York, 2005), 199; A. Empey, 'The origins of the medieval parish revisited' in H. B. Clarke and J. R. S. Phillips (eds), *Ireland, England and the Continent in the Middle Ages and Beyond: Essays in Memory of a Turbulent Friar, F. X. Martin O.S.A.* (Dublin, 2006), 29–50 at 30.

107 Reproductions in R. A. B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1939), plate 32; G. Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought: The Interpretation of Mary and Martha, the Ideal of the Imitation of Christ, the Orders of Society* (Cambridge, 1995), 261–2; Fleming, *Gille*, 120 and frontispiece; Rollason, *Symeon of Durham*, plates 18, 24.

108 Gillebertus offered the explanation that a primate *apud nos* was the equivalent of a patriarch *apud orientales* and that both were subordinate to the Roman pontiff. After Rome, he listed, in order of precedence, Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria, and because their churches were apostolic foundations they could ordain archbishops: Fleming, *Gille*, 162–3. Pseudo-Isidore also equates primates and patriarchs and has the same order of precedence: Hinschius, *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae*, 83 and cf. 39, 79–80, 121, 185. Contrast Isidore's *Etymologies*, which had described a fourfold ranking 'of patriarchs, archbishops, metropolitans, and bishops' and had restricted the title of patriarch to the apostolic sees of Rome, Antioch and Alexandria: W. M. Lindsay (ed.), *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiae sive Originum Libri XX*, 2 vols (Oxford, 911), i, vii.12; S. A. Barney (transl.), W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach, and O. Berghof, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge, 2006), 170.

In Gillebertus's delineation of the hierarchical constituents of the universal church, his supposition that an archbishop is subject to a primate displays the influence of Pseudo-Isidore, a collection of forged decretals dating from the mid ninth century but which had limited influence before the eleventh century.[109] The first serious attempts by would-be primates to exercise effective authority date from the last quarter of the eleventh century and were highly contentious, since, not surprisingly, many archbishops proved reluctant to accept primatial oversight and vigorously disputed such claims.[110] The Pseudo-Isidorian reflexes in Gillebertus's text, it has been argued, afford strong evidence of Anglo-Norman experience and reading.[111] Gillebertus's categorisation of primatial authority would certainly have accorded with the Canterbury perspective that was advanced from the time of its first Anglo-Norman appointee, the Italian schoolman Archbishop Lanfranc, who introduced the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals to the English church and was the first holder of an English see to use the title *primas*.[112] According to Gillebertus an archiepiscopal province should comprise no less than three and no more than twenty dioceses. The minimum number of suffragans may simply reflect the canonical requirement for the presence of three bishops at an episcopal consecration, which ultimately derived from the council of Nicaea (325).[113] However, it has been suggested that these figures might

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109 Hinschius, *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae*, 39, 79–80, 82–3, 121, 185. On the limitations of this edition, see D. Jasper and H. Fuhrmann, *Papal Letters in the Early Middle Ages* (Washington, DC, 2001), 135–95.

110 For a recent discussion, see F. Delivré, 'The foundations of primatial claims in the western church (eleventh-thirteenth centuries)', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 59 (2008), 383–406, which includes a brief treatment of the primacy of Armagh.

111 Brett, 'Canterbury's perspective', 31–2. That Gillebertus's text reflected 'English conditions' was suggested already in a more general way in M. Brett, *The English Church under Henry I* (Oxford, 1975), 32, n. 4.

112 For Lanfranc's introduction of Pseudo-Isidore to the English church via the *Collectio Lanfranci*, see M. Philpott, 'Lanfranc's canonical collection and the "law of the church" ' in G. d'Onofrio (ed.), *Lanfranco di Pavia e l'Europa del Secolo XI nel IX Centenario della Morte (1089–1989)*, Italia Sacra, 51 (Rome, 1993), 132–47. I am grateful to Dr Philpott for providing me with a copy of his article. For Lanfranc's use of Pseudo-Isidore in promoting Canterbury's claim to primatial authority, see Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, 91–2, 121–2, 125, 139, 221–3, 228.

113 'It is by all means desirable that a bishop should be appointed by all the bishops of the province. But if this is difficult because of some pressing necessity or the length of the journey involved, let at least three come together and perform the ordination, but only after the absent bishops have taken part in the vote and given their written consent. But in each province the right of confirming the proceedings belongs to the metropolitan bishop': N. P. Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols (London, 1990), i, 7; cf. *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*, I.4 in Wasserschleben, *Die Irische Kanonensammlung*, 4. In 1076, when Pope Gregory VII learnt that the ancient province of Carthage no longer had three bishoprics, he ordered that a suitable candidate be sent to him for consecration so that the African church would have the necessary number of bishops to conduct its own episcopal consecrations: H. Fuhrmann, 'Provincia constat duodecim episcopatibus: zum Patriarchsplan Erzbischof Adalberts von Hamburg-Bremen', *Studia Gratiana*, 11 (1967), 391–404 at 393, n. 3.

derive from English experience: as pointed out by Martin Brett, the province of York had a very low number of subject diocesans; indeed, it was only by severely strained argument that it could claim to have had even three diocesans by around 1100. By contrast, Canterbury was one of very few archiepiscopal provinces which could make a credible case for as many as twenty suffragans. However, this may accord undue preference to knowledge of English conditions on the part of Gillebertus over other potential Continental influences solely because of the vagaries of surviving evidence. The synod of Ráith Bressail more closely accorded with a Pseudo-Isidorian scheme that the ideal archiepiscopal province should consist of twelve sees.[114] Evidence for the influence and implementation of such an interpretation is largely Continental.[115] Thus, eleventh-century sources depicted the Hungarian king Stephen I (997–1038) envisaging an organisational scheme for the church in Hungary by dividing his kingdom into twelve bishoprics. In 1025 Pope John XIX issued a privilege to the archbishop of Canosa-Bari in which he stated that he had read in ancient papal decrees (by which he meant Pseudo-Isidore) that an archbishopric should have twelve bishoprics. Archbishop Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen (1043–72) had sought to divide his province into twelve bishoprics. In 1094, when Pope Urban II reconstituted the bishopric of Arras and assigned it as the twelfth see to the metropolitan province of Reims, the pope justified his decision on the basis that an ecclesiastical province should consist of twelve sees.[116] Key here is the fact that the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals were the sole source in the entire corpus of canon law that envisaged or discussed the creation of primatial sees and which suggested that an ecclesiastical province should comprise twelve bishoprics. Although compiled in the mid ninth century, the description relating to twelve sees constituting an ecclesiastical province did not begin to be cited in other canon law collections, or have any impact, before the eleventh century.

The Pseudo-Isidorian reflexes in the arrangements for primacy proposed at the synod of Ráith Bressail afford some insight into the preparation and research that preceded the synod and the consensus which must have been reached in

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114 Hinschius, *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae*, 724; below n. 116.

115 Details in Fuhrmann, 'Provincia constat duodecim episcopatibus'; idem, *Einfluß und Verbreitung der Pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen*, 3 vols, MGH, Schriften, 24, 1–3 (Stuttgart, 1972–4), ii, 332–5.

116 Adhémar of Chabannes (*ob.* 1034), referring to Ireland on the eve of the battle of Clontarf, 1014, described the country as *12 civitates cum amplissimis episcopatibus*: G. H. Pertz (ed.), 'Ademari historiarum libri III' in MGH, *Scriptores*, 4 (Hanover, 1841), 140. For the view that he derived this invented description from the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, see H. Fuhrmann, 'Studien zur Geschichte mittelalterlicher Patriarchate, III Teil', *Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung*, 72 (1955), 95–183 at 151–2. For Adhémar's creative inventions based on Pseudo-Isidore, see H. Schreiber, 'Ademar von Chabannes und Pseudo-isidor: der "Mythomane" und der Erzfälscher' in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter: Internationaler Kongreß der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, München, 16.–19. September 1986, Teil II, Gefälschte Rechtstexte: Der Bestrafte Fälscher*, MGH, Schriften, 33, II (Hanover, 1988), 129–50.

advance that Armagh would be acknowledged as the primatial see.[117] It can indeed be argued that, from a Pseudo-Isidorian perspective, the church of Armagh required the creation of an archiepiscopal see at Cashel in order to validate its primacy: that, in accordance with canon law as propounded by the early twelfth century, Armagh, in order to claim primatial status, had to have at least one archbishopric that recognised its primacy. That consideration must form an important backdrop to the agreement between Armagh and the Ua Briain kings of Munster which resulted in the creation at Ráith Bressail of the archiepiscopal sees of Armagh and Cashel, each broadly comprising twelve dioceses, with primacy accorded to Armagh. Awareness of the requirement for another archiepiscopal see in order to validate Armagh's primacy is evident in Bernard of Clairvaux's Life of Malachy, when he attributed to Cellach of Armagh the restoration of 'another metropolitan see' (that is, Cashel) which was to be subject to the archbishop of Armagh 'as primate (*tamquam primati*)'.[118] The fact that Ráith Bressail followed a prescription of twelve sees as the ideal episcopal province may indicate that Gillebertus, who described an archiepiscopal province as comprising at least three and no more than twenty dioceses, wrote his treatise independently of Ráith Bressail.

A notable feature of Gillebertus's ecclesiastical hierarchy is that he provided parallel secular rankings in which he linked pope with emperor, king with primate, duke with archbishop, count with bishop and soldier (*miles*) with

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117 Geoffrey Keating stated that 'just as twelve bishops were fixed under Canterbury in the south of England, and twelve bishops in the north under the city of York, so a similar arrangement was made at the synod of Ráith Bressail in Ireland, namely twelve bishops in Leath Mogha and twelve bishops in Leath Cuinn and two bishops in Meath': *FFE*, iii, 298–9. This, of course, did not accurately reflect the reality in relation to the English church. The view that the English church comprised two provinces, each containing twelve bishoprics, must derive from Bede. Pope Gregory I, writing to Augustine in England in 601, had advised him to constitute metropolitan bishoprics at London and at York, under each of which twelve bishoprics were to be consecrated: B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (eds), *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1969), 104–5. Citing Gregory's advice to Augustine, Bede urged Egbert, newly consecrated bishop of York, to strive to set up twelve subject bishoprics under York: J. McClure and R. Collins (eds), *Bede: The Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1999), 349. The analogy between the structures determined at Ráith Bressail and that of the English church may have been Keating's own, derived from his reading of Bede rather than from the Book of Clonenagh, his stated source for Ráith Bressail. For Keating's use of Bede, see B. Cunningham, *The World of Geoffrey Keating: History, Myth and Religion in Seventeenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin, 2000), 93–4. Reliance on Bede might serve to explain the Ráith Bressail arrangement of two provinces, each with twelve sees, but knowledge of the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals must nonetheless be reflected in the assignment of primacy to the see of Armagh. Keating went on to comment 'I think that although the old book does not so state, it was six bishops that were in Munster and six in Leinster, with the archbishop of Cashel over them all as chief prelate of Leath Mogha after the manner of temporal sovereignty as we have said above in treating of this matter in the reign of Laoghaire': *FFE*, iii, 300–301. This comment on a correlation between the two ecclesiastical provinces of Armagh and Cashel and Leth Cuinn and Leth Moga was most probably Keating's own.

118 *Vita Malachiae*, 340, line 13; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 49.

priest.[119] This cannot be said indubitably to reflect English influence and might equally betoken Continental, more specifically German imperial, influence. It has been posited that Gillebertus might have drawn on Walahfrid Strabo, abbot of Reichenau (838–43), who in his *De Exordiis* offered an analogy between secular and ecclesiastical offices.[120] That work was written for the use of German secular clergy ministering in rural parishes and, as such, had a didactic purpose not dissimilar, as will be argued below, to that of Gillebertus's work. However, Gillebertus's schema was not derived in detail from Walahfrid, as the only actual comparison is the equivalence between pope and emperor.[121] In other respects, Walahfrid's text exhibits much more archaicising tendencies in the terms deployed for the secular rankings and, in any case, its manuscript history suggests a very limited circulation and influence, a further reason for discounting Walahfrid as a source used by Gillebertus.[122]

The parallel ecclesiastical and secular rank hierarchies as outlined by Gillebertus might appear as an exotic borrowing that he carried over from a source which had no direct relevance to the twelfth-century Irish polity. Yet a range of Irish law tracts, the earliest dating from around AD 700, drew analogies between ecclesiastical and secular hierarchies – texts on status and rank such as *Críth Gablach* ('Branched Purchase'), *Uraicecht Becc* ('The Small Primer'), and *Uraicecht na Ríar* ('The Primer of Stipulations'); so this feature of Gillebertus's text was far from unique in an Irish context.[123] There is also near contemporary evidence in charters issued by Irish kings from the mid twelfth century for the usage of *dux*, *comes* and *miles* for rankings in the secular hierarchy.[124] In assuming a unitary kingdom under one king Gillebertus's treatise bears analogy with the twelfth-century missal of Irish provenance that includes a prayer for the 'king of the Irish and his army'.[125] The analogy drawn between king and primate undoubtedly would have flattered the hegemonic pretensions to high-kingship of

119 Fleming, *Gille*, 150–1.
120 Richter, 'Gilbert of Limerick revisited', 346; cf. D. Ó Riain-Raedel, 'Cashel and Germany: the documentary evidence' in D. Bracken and D. Ó Riain-Raedel (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century: Reform and Renewal* (Dublin, 2006), 192.
121 The relevant section is in A. L. Harting-Correa (ed.), *Walahfrid Strabo's Libellus de Exordiis et Incrementis Quarundam Observationibus Ecclesiasticis Rerum: A Translation and Liturgical Commentary*, Mittellateinische Studien und Texte, 19 (Leiden, 1996), 188–93. That equivalence led W. Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages: A Study in the Ideological Relation of Clerical to Lay Power* (London, 1955), 138–9, to suggest that Walahfrid's text marked an important stage in the development of hierocratic theory but, in light of the restricted dissemination of the text, as pointed out by Harting-Correa, 315, this is unlikely.
122 It is nonetheless probable that Gillebertus drew on some source for his rank hierarchies. Cf. Peter Abelard's rule for nuns, where he equates the superior of the convent with the emperor, the officials with dukes, the nuns with knights and the lay sisters with foot soldiers: T. P. McLaughlin, 'Abelard's rule for religious women', *Mediaeval Studies*, 18 (1956), 241–92 at 252; G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996), 76.
123 Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, 124–33.
124 Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters*, nos 1, 2, 4, 5, 6.
125 Below, p. 206, n. 18.

Gillebertus's royal patron, Muirchertach Ua Briain (*ob*. 1119). Indeed, in the Life of St Flannan of Killaloe, the *Hausheiliger*, or familial saint, of the Dál Cais dynasty, Brian Bóruma (*ob*. 1014) and his descendants down to the time of Muirchertach Ua Briain are said to possess either the whole or the half of Ireland 'in the manner of imperial Roman emperors, Greek *basilides*, and Babylonian *ammirabile*s'.[126] There is ample evidence that the Ua Briain kings sought a personal relationship with the head of the church of Armagh as a means of endorsing and sustaining their claims to the high-kingship. Brian Bóruma's ceremonial visit to Armagh in 1005, when he was described as *imperator Scottorum* in the record of his visit inserted into the early-ninth-century Book of Armagh, and his burial there in 1014 were intended to validate his high-kingship.[127] The equivalence drawn between pope and emperor by Gillebertus should be read alongside a number of other twelfth-century Irish sources that display an interest in the German emperor.[128]

Gillebertus's diagrammatically illustrated parallel ecclesiastical and secular rank hierarchies are accorded only relatively brief discussion in the concluding section of his treatise. The greater part is actually concerned with describing the seven grades of clergy and their duties, but more especially the priest and the constituent elements of his parish and necessary equipment such as vestments and church furniture. As such, it bears analogy with a genre of text epitomising the functions of each ecclesiastical grade that was popular in the Middle Ages. Its unelaborated presentation, however, makes it difficult to trace precisely its sources. The treatment of priest and parish is a straightforward descriptive account without, for example, invoking biblical proof-texts for sanction: Gillebertus does not, as do many such treatises, cite Old and New Testament precedents for the origins of the various ecclesiastical offices. Gillebertus listed seven canonical grades of clergy: the door-keeper, lector, exorcist, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon and priest,[129] justifying that number by analogy with the

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126 *Sicut Romani imperatores cesares, Greci basilides [sic], Babilonii ammirabiles*: *Vita Flannani*, 289. The reference to the half of Ireland reflects the conventional division into northern Leth Cuinn and southern Leth Moga.

127 M. T. Flanagan, 'Henry II, the council of Cashel and the Irish bishops', *Peritia*, 10 (1996), 184–211 at 192–8.

128 Below, pp. 76, 92, 180, for the allusion in the *Vita Flannani* to the siege of Milan in 1162 by Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. For the suggestion that the series of Irish pilgrimages to Rome recorded from 1024 onwards may have been facilitated by a formal agreement with the German emperor which was negotiated with gifts of Irish metalwork, see R. Ó Floinn, 'Innovation and conservatism in Irish metalwork of the Romanesque period' in C. E. Karkov, M. Ryan, and R. T. Farrell (eds), *The Insular Tradition* (Albany, NY, 1997), 263–4.

129 Fleming, *Gille*, 148–9. Tírechán, 688×93, depicted Patrick accompanied by bishops, priests, deacons, exorcists, door-keepers and lectors: L. Bieler (ed.), *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, 10 (Dublin, 1979), 126–7. The Irish Canon Collection listed seven grades, namely: door-keeper, exorcist, lector, subdeacon, deacon, priest and bishop: *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*, VIII, 1, 2 in Wasserschleben, *Die Irische Kanonensammlung*, 26. Gillebertus excluded the bishop and included the acolyte. The higher episcopal ranks of

sevenfold graces of the Holy Spirit.[130] In the entire treatise Gillebertus names only one source, Amalarius, to whom he twice alludes, on each occasion in order to note disagreement, first when enumerating the various ecclesiastical grades recognised by the church and secondly when describing vestments unique to a bishop.[131] Amalarius may be identified as the scholar of the church of Metz who wrote a work titled *Liber Officialis* around 821 that was intended to instruct Carolingian clergy in the significance of liturgical ritual.[132] Gillebertus's use of Amalarius has been described as 'rather backward-looking'.[133] This is unwarranted, however, since Amalarius's *Liber officialis*, to quote a recent editor, 'was widely read and copied through the twelfth century, and its teachings absorbed and transmitted by numerous authors … as diverse as Berno of Reichenau, Rupert of Deutz, John of Avranches, William of Malmesbury,[134] Honorius Augustodunensis, Bernold of Constance, Hugh of Saint-Victor, Ioannes Beleth, and Guillaume Durand to name only the most famous'.[135] Notable about this list

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archbishop or primate were not included in the Irish Canon Collection, notwithstanding the claims to a superior jurisdiction advanced by the churches of Armagh and Kildare from the last quarter of the seventh century. The importance of the works of Isidore of Seville for this section of the *Hibernensis* is highlighted in R. E. Reynolds, *The Ordinals of Christ from their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Berlin, 1978), 22–4; idem, *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages*, I, 21–5. Yet, as Reynolds pointed out, Isidore's formulation was modified in ways unknown on the Continent, suggesting that the Irish Canon Collection genuinely reflected an insular context. For vernacular Irish ordinals of Christ listing particular events in Christ's life as a validation of each clerical grade, dated to the eleventh or twelfth centuries, which also differ from Gillebertus's hierarchy of grades, see Reynolds, *The Ordinals*, 64–8. Reynolds coined the term 'ordinals' to denote brief treatises in which the ecclesiastical grades are listed according to a prearranged sequence, with specific events in Christ's life attached as sanctions. See also 'Christ as cleric: the ordinals of Christ' in his *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages*, II, 1–50. For the view that Irish canonists were responsible for popularising the notion of seven grades, see R. E. Reynolds, ' "At sixes and sevens" – and eights and nines: the sacred mathematics of sacred orders in the early middle ages', *Speculum*, 54 (1979), 669–84 at 672–3, reprinted in his *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages*, III.

130 Cf. the same theological justification of seven clerical grades in Ivo of Chartres's *Sermo II, De Excellentia Sacrorum Ordinum*: Migne, *PL*, clxii, 514b.

131 Fleming, *Gille*, 148–9, 158–9.

132 J. M. Hanssens (ed.), *Amalarii Episcopi Opera Liturgica Omnia*, 3 vols, Studi e Testi, 138–40 (Vatican City, 1948), ii.

133 Richter, 'Gilbert of Limerick revisited', 344. Cf. J. A. Watt, *The Church in Medieval Ireland*, revised edition (Dublin, 1998), 12: 'The general tone of the treatise sounds of an earlier age than the more developed legal treatises that the Gregorian reform had called into production elsewhere and the mention of Amalarius of Metz (died *ca* 850) suggests that Gilbert looked more to Frankish sources than to Gregorian ones'. This ignores *inter alia* Gillebertus's inclusion of the office of primate in his ecclesiastical hierarchy.

134 William of Malmesbury (*ob.* in or after 1142) compiled an abridgement of Amalarius which survives in at least five manuscripts: R. W. Pfaff, 'The "Abbreviatio Amalarii" of William of Malmesbury', *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale*, 17 (1980), 77–113, 18 (1981), 128–71. Canterbury Christ Church, Worcester, Bury St Edmunds, Ely, Exeter and, it may be presumed, Malmesbury had copies of Amalarius in William's time.

135 C. A. Jones (ed.), *A Lost Work of Amalarius of Metz: Interpolations in Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS. 154*, Henry Bradshaw Society, Subsidia 2 (London, 2001), 19. For the transmission

of names is that they are drawn as much from outside as within the Anglo-Norman realm. Amalarius himself made at least three authorial revisions of his *Liber officialis*, while his work also invited frequent excerption, abridgement and interpolation by anonymous authors.[136] In fact, the use of Amalarius is so ubiquitous in the twelfth century that it would be hard to localise it to any particular region.

The difficulty with Gillebertus's mention of Amalarius is that he claimed that Amalarius reckoned nine ecclesiastical grades by including the psalmist and the bishop, whereas, in fact, Amalarius reckoned the same seven grades of door-keeper, lector, exorcist, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon and priest in ascending order, as did Gillebertus. Gillebertus confidently justified his rejection of Amalarius's schema by opining that the bishop should not be included as a separate grade since every bishop was also a priest; and, since any individual could be authorised by a priest to act as psalmist or cantor in order to sing or intone a chant, the cantor also ought not to be reckoned as a distinct ecclesiastical grade. Not only did Amalarius not include the psalmist and the bishop, he categorically stated that priest and bishop were virtually the same office: *episcopi et sacerdotis pene unum est officium*.[137] That Gillebertus believed that Amalarius had included the psalmist and bishop among the ecclesiastical grades suggests that he was drawing on a text which passed under the name of Amalarius. Gillebertus's sequence of seven grades which explicitly excludes the bishop reflects a theology of sacred orders that has been described as patristic presbyterianism, holding that bishop and priest were equal in the celebration of the eucharist at the altar.[138] A new order was not conferred in episcopal consecration, but a new office with a new power: episcopacy was a *dignitas* added to the presbyteral *ordo*. This was a standpoint which gained in popularity from the late eleventh century onwards. It accords, for example, with Bishop Ivo of Chartres's (1090–1116) *De Excellentia Sacrorum Ordinum*,[139] which was widely read in the Anglo-Norman realm, and with the text known as the 'Norman Anonymous' written somewhere in Normandy about the time that Gillebertus was composing his treatise.[140]

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of the *Liber officialis* to England via Brittany around 900 in an abbreviated and reorganised recension and its subsequent influence in late Anglo-Saxon texts, see D. Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 1992), 116, 135–6; idem, 'Breton and English manuscripts of Amalarius's "Liber officialis" ' in D. Conso, N. Fick, and B. Poulle (eds), *Mélanges François Kerlouégan* (Paris, 1994), 205–14. For the view that Amalarius was more influential in later Anglo-Saxon England than on the Continent, see the review of Jones's edition by Yitzak Hen, *Early Medieval Europe*, 11 (2004), 401–2.

136 Florilegial tracts, or epitomes, of clerical grades and their origins and duties were numerous. For two twelfth-century tracts attributed to Amalarius, see Reynolds, 'Christ as cleric', 26–7, 29.

137 *Liber officialis*, bk II, 25 in Hanssens, *Amalarii Episcopi Opera*, ii, 251 and cf. 231–3.

138 R. E. Reynolds, 'Patristic "presbyterianism" in the early medieval theology of sacred orders', *Mediaeval Studies*, 45 (1983), 311–42; reprinted in his *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages*, V.

139 Migne, *PL*, clxii, 513–19, where the grades are door-keeper, lector, exorcist, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon, priest; Reynolds, 'Christ as cleric', 20–21.

140 G. H. Williams, *The Norman Anonymous of 1100 AD*, Harvard Theological Studies, XVIII,

Gillebertus devoted a succinct sentence to the respective duties of door-keeper, lector, exorcist and acolyte, and slightly more notice to the subdeacon and deacon, but he concentrated most attention on the priest in the parish. His descriptions of the various duties of the clerical grades reflects material found in liturgical texts, describing details such as vestments and symbols of office and the conduct fitting to each grade. Only once does he elaborate on the symbolism of a vestment, when he states that the maniple (*fannon*) worn by the subdeacon on his left hand (*manus*) touches the altar lightly like a broom and symbolises that he carries the burden of the Lord lightly.[141] This explanation may have been a reflex of a vesting prayer, though it might be thought that the bearing of the Lord's burden would more appropriately be attached to the *superhumerale* worn by the subdeacon.[142] Gillebertus may have drawn on liturgical texts describing vestments which were often also included in pontificals, as bishops bestowed the appropriate vestments on each clerical grade at the time of ordination. Gillebertus is in line with the reformist position that the order of subdeacon, which can until the eleventh century be described as an *ordo incertus*, belonged to the restricted category of higher orders 'and therefore subdeacons must be chaste'.[143] He also

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Extra Number (Cambridge, 1951), 85–7; Reynolds, 'Christ as cleric', 22–4; Brett, 'Canterbury's perspective', 31, n. 42. Gillebertus, however, does not follow the Norman Anonymous in propounding an episcopal egalitarianism that sought to deny the superior authority of archbishop or primate.

141 Fleming, *Gille*, 152–3. Amalarius made no mention of the maniple in relation to the subdeacon. For the view that the maniple/fannon came to be regarded as one of the insignia of the subdiaco-nate from the eleventh century onwards, see R. E. Reynolds, 'The subdiaconate as a sacred and superior order', in his *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages*, IV, 35–9; 'Clerical liturgical vestments and liturgical colors in the Middle Ages' in his *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages*, VI, 6. Arch-bishop Lanfranc corresponded with John of Avranches, archbishop of Rouen, concerning the vesting of the subdeacon with the maniple, seeking clarification of where John had found that ruling, since Lanfranc believed the maniple was, like the alb and amice, common to all orders: *Letters of Lanfranc*, 84–5 and n. 4. William of Malmesbury explained the maniple as signifying the labours of the body and soul in this life: Pffaf, 'The "Abbreviatio", 169. Bishop Bruno of Segni explained the *manipulum* worn by a bishop as representing his good works: *Tractatus de Sacramentis Ecclesiae* in Migne, *PL*, clxv, 1107C. For the maniple (*manipulus*), stole, and mitre bestowed on Malachy by Pope Innocent II, see below, p. 173.

142 Amalarius assigned the symbolism of bearing the Lord's burden to the *stola* bestowed on the deacon by the bishop: Hanssens, *Amalarii Episcopi Opera*, ii, 242. In the Romano-Germanic pontifical, the *superhumerale* signifies the symbolic assumption of the burden of Christ by bishops: *PRG*, i, 294, lines 15–17. The same symbolism is used by Bruno of Segni, *Tractatus de Sacramentis Ecclesiae* in Migne, *PL*, clv, 1106A. In a tract attributed to Ivo of Chartres, the maniple is said to symbolise the wiping away of the sins of the priest himself and of his flock: R. E. Reynolds, 'Ivonian opuscula on the ecclesisastical officers' in his *Clerical Orders in the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 1999), X, 322. Gillebertus ascribes the wearing of the *superhumerale*, alb, and cincture to the lector, exorcist, and subdeacon. To the deacon he assigns the distin-guishing vestments of stole worn over the left shoulder and dalmatic worn on solemnities. He uses *superhumerale* as the equivalent of the amice in the case of the three lower orders: Fleming, *Gille*, 152–3, 158–9. The vesting prayer for the amice usually describes it as symbolising the helmet of salvation: Reynolds, 'Clerical liturgical vestments', 1–2.

143 Fleming, *Gille*, 152–3; Reynolds, 'The subdiaconate'.

accords the duty of reading the epistle to subdeacons, a practice of which Amalarius disapproved since he stressed the inferior role of the subdeacon.[144]

Gillebertus ascribes fourteen duties to the priest. The first is to preside, or rule, over the laity in his parish and to impose penances on them with fairness and mercy. The priest has to praise God in prayer through the celebration of the Mass and the observance of the liturgical Hours. He has to preach, especially on Sundays and holy days when the laity is obliged to abstain from manual work and attend church. He has to instruct, especially in relation to the cardinal sins. Eight are listed: pride, vain-glory, envy, anger, sorrow, covetousness, gluttony, excess (*superbia, inana gloria, invidia, ira, tristitia, avaritia, gula, luxuria*).[145] The eight-fold list of Cassian was typically that favoured by the early Irish church.[146] While Gillebertus retained the Cassianic distinction between pride and vain glory,[147] he listed the sins in descending Gregorian order. Such an admixture of Cassianic and Gregorian features was typical before the *Sentences* (*Sententiae*) of Peter Lombard (*ca* 1150), which gave the final seal of authority to the Gregorian seven-fold scheme.[148] The priest has to baptise by triple immersion,[149] excommunicate, and reconcile those who have been excommunicated, anoint the sick, distribute communion and bury the dead.

The vestments worn by the priest are detailed as the amice, alb, cincture, maniple (*fannon*), stole and chasuble. The use of *fannon* rather than *manipulus* suggests Old French influence.[150] Bearing in mind that Gillebertus met Anselm

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144 Hanssens, *Amalarii Episcopi Opera*, ii, 220–21.

145 Fleming, *Gille*, 156–7.

146 See L. Bieler (ed.), *The Irish Penitentials*, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, 5 (Dublin, 1975), 110–23, 204–9, 259–74. For a (?) twelfth-century sermon on the Lord's Prayer that lists the eight capital sins as *superbia, fornicatio, avaritia, cinodoxia, gastrimargia, ira, tristitia, accidia*, see R. Atkinson (ed.), *Passions and Homilies from Leabhar Breac: Text, Translation and Glossary*, Royal Irish Academy Todd Lecture Series, 2 (Dublin, 1887), 506. For the names of eight cardinal sins in Irish, see ibid., 265, lines 8033–4, and the early-twelfth-century Life of Colmán: K. Meyer (ed.), *Betha Colmáin maic Lúacháin: Life of Colmán son of Lúachan, Edited from a Manuscript in the Library of Rennes with Translation, Introduction, Notes, and Indices*, Todd Lecture Series, 17 (Dublin, 1911), 78–9. Seven sins are referred to in the early-twelfth-century Life of St Monenna: Ulster Society for Medieval Latin Studies, 'The life of St Monenna by Conchubranus edited by the Ulster Society for Medieval Latin Studies', *Seanchas Ard Mhacha*, 9 (1978–9), 125. A vernacular tract on the deadly sins in a manuscript of fifteenth- to early-sixteenth-century date enumerates them as *luxoria, avaritia, invidia, ira, tristitia, vana gloria*: K. Meyer, 'Aus Rawlinson B. 512: Von den Todsünden', *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, 3 (1901), 24–8.

147 Pride and vainglory, as in Cassian's *Institutes*, were converted into the single sin of pride, hence the seven capital sins from the time of Pope Gregory I (590–604): O. Chadwick, *John Cassian*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1968), 42, 89, 94–5; M. W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature* (Michigan, MI, 1952), 69–72, 85–6.

148 Bloomfield, *Seven Deadly Sins*, 85–6, 383, n. 26.

149 For a symbolic interpretation of triple immersion at baptism, see below, p. 207.

150 A. Harvey and J. Power (eds), *The Non-Classical Lexicon of Celtic Latinity, vol. 1: Letters A–H*, Royal Irish Academy Dictionary of Medieval Latin from Celtic Sources, Constituent Publications, 1 (Turnhout, 2005), 304.

at Rouen, it is not unlikely that he drew on a source derived from the Norman region. In a text on ecclesiastical officers and liturgical vestments that was attributed to Ivo of Chartres (*ca* 1040–1117), but was more properly the work of an anonymous epitomiser who drew on the *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* of John, bishop of Avranches (1054–67) and archbishop of Rouen (1067–79), and the *Liber de Divinis Officiis* of Pseudo-Alcuin, the maniple is equated with the fanon – *mapula quam fanonem appelamus* – which suggests that this usage was a feature of late-eleventh-century Normandy, a region in which liturgical studies constituted one element of a reform agenda that was concerned to promote authentic Roman practice and proper liturgical order.[151]

The essential requirements of a priest are divided into two categories: physical spaces and items requiring consecration by a bishop, and those that do not. The areas and items to be consecrated by a bishop are detailed as the church precinct (*atrium*),[152] the church itself, the altar and altar table, altar cloths, vestments, the chalice, paten, corporal, the vessel for distribution of communion, the chrism oil, container for chrism, the incense and censer, the baptismal font, the shrine for relics, the altar canopy, the cross, the handbell (*tintinabulum*) and the 'judicial iron (*ferrum iudiciale*, used in an ordeal by hot iron)'. Of the items specified by Gillebertus as requiring consecration by a bishop, the Romano-Germanic pontifical contains rites for the consecration of cemeteries, churches, altar, altar cloths, baptismal font, vestments, chalice, paten, corporal, vessels for the distribution of communion, thurible and incense, chrism, a cross, bell, the judicial iron, and the bread and cheese and cold water to be used for an ordeal.[153] Gillbertus's description of the altar canopy as *cimbarium*[154] *id est altaris umbraculum* is arguably the

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151 R. J. Zawilla, 'The *Sententia Ivonis Carnotensis episcopi De Divinis Officiis*, the "Norman School" and liturgical scholarship: study and edition', *Mediaeval Studies*, 49 (1987), 124–51 at 150. It should be noted, however, that the three early-twelfth-century manuscripts on which the edition is based, two of which also contain works of Honorius Augustodunensis, are all of south German origin.

152 *Atrium* at this period signified the entire privileged precinct or outer sanctuary that included, but encompassed more than, the graveyard: C. Du Cange, *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Latinitas*, 10 vols (Niort, 1883–7), i, 453–4; cf. M. Chibnall (ed.), *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, 6 vols, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1968–80), iii, 29.

153 *PRG*, i, 148–80, 190–94; ii, 380–414.

154 Fleming, *Gille*, 160. The word in this form appears to be unique to Gillebertus. See Harvey and Power, *The Non-Classical Lexicon*, 132. The more usual form denoting a baldachin, or altar canopy, was *ciborium*: Du Cange, *Glossarium*, i, 323. Cf. *praephatio cyborii id est umbraculi altaris* in *PRG*, i, 165–6; *prefatio ciborii id est umbraculi altaris* in H. A. Wilson (ed.), *The Pontifical of Magdalen College with an Appendix of Extracts from other English MSS of the Twelfth Century*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 39 (London, 1910), 133. Wilson argued that Canterbury was most probably the source either of this pontifical or of that from which it was copied. In a related pontifical, which it has been suggested was compiled for the use of Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, *prefatio cibarii id est umbraculum altaris* occurs: K. D. Hartzell, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1200 Containing Music* (Woodbridge, 2006), 149. The form *cibarium*, literally 'foodstuff', suggests that the scribe was unfamiliar with *ciborium*. Gillebertus may have had a manuscript with the form *cibarium* before him which he assumed should have read *cimbarium*. In both cases, it suggests unfamiliarity with altar canopies.

most telling evidence that Gillebertus was drawing on a pontifical that either was, or closely resembled, the Romano-Germanic pontifical, the most widely diffused of pontificals by the early twelfth century.[155] Gillebertus's examples of items that did not require consecration by a bishop included a gospel book, psalter, missal, book of Hours, service book (*manuale*), a book of synodal acts, candlesticks and candles, a chest (*arca*) for vestments, a sprinkler for holy water, a pyx (container for hosts), a wafer iron, cruets for wine and water, a basin for hand washing, a hand towel and a lectern.

The blessings that a priest could give, even on occasions when a bishop is present, are detailed as the blessing of water and salt on Sundays,[156] the blessing of food, a nuptial blessing of bride and bridegroom,[157] the blessing of readers of scripture other than the gospel and the blessing of water or bread to be used for a trial by ordeal. A priest can also sprinkle holy water for the blessing of new houses and other new things.[158] In the absence of a bishop, the priest can bless the tonsure of a cleric and the veil of a widow, first fruits, candles on the feast of the Purification of the Virgin (2 February),[159] 'ashes at the beginning of Lent',[160] branches of palms on Palm Sunday,[161] persons about

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155 A systematic analysis of pontificals with a view to identifying the version on which Gillebertus drew is beyond the scope of this study. The Magdalen pontifical has been referred to here along-side the Romano-Germanic pontifical for comparative purposes because of its date in the first half of the twelfth century and its Canterbury provenance. Lanfranc is known to have supplied books to Donngus Ua hAingliu whom he consecrated as bishop of Dublin in 1085: below, p. 142. The Magdalen pontifical contains rites similar to those of the Romano-Germanic pontifical. While its contents are primarily liturgical, the Romano-Germanic pontifical also contains didactic texts, suggesting that it functioned as a handbook of correct practice. For the view that a copy of the Romano-Germanic pontifical is likely to have been available in Dublin by the 1090s and possibly as early as the 1070s, see Philpott, 'Some interactions', 194; Brett, 'Canterbury's perspective', 23, n. 21.

156 Fleming, *Gille*, 156–7. Cf. the *benedictio salis et aquae* in *PRG*, ii, 333–41; F. H. Forbes (ed.), *Missale Drummondiense: The Ancient Irish Missal in the Possession of the Baroness Willoughly de Eresby, Drummond Castle, Perthshire* (Edinburgh, 1882), 1–2.

157 Cf. the nuptial blessings in the Corpus missal: F. E. Warren (ed.), *The Manuscript Irish Missal Belonging to the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford* (London, 1879), 82–4.

158 Cf. the blessing of a house and all its inhabitants in the Corpus missal: Warren, *The Manuscript Irish Missal*, 205.

159 For a rite of blessing of candles, see H. J. Lawlor (ed.), *The Rosslyn Missal: An Irish Manuscript in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 15 (London, 1899), 48–51, 146–51 (where similarities with a Besançon pontifical are noted).

160 Fleming, *Gille*, 156–7. While there is evidence that in the early Irish church the first Sunday after Ash Wednesday, Quadragesima Sunday, was reckoned as the beginning of Lent, Gillebertus clearly regarded Ash Wednesday as the formal liturgical beginning of Lent: P. Ó Néill, 'Irish observance of the three Lents and the date of the St Gall Priscian', *Ériu*, 51 (2000), 159–80 at 171, n. 61. For Wednesday as the beginning of Lent in the so-called Second Vision of Adomnán, see below, p. 239. The council of Clermont, 1095, decreed that all Christians should receive ashes during Lent: Somerville, *The Councils of Urban*, 148. For a rite of blessing of ashes, see Lawlor, *The Rosslyn Missal*, 16; Warren, *The Manuscript Irish Missal*, 101.

161 For a blessing of palms, see Warren, *The Manuscript Irish Missal*, 106.

to depart on pilgrimage,[162] readers of scripture, including the gospel, and the laity at the final dismissal at the end of Mass. However, a bishop, if present, would impart those blessings.[163]

Three types of ordeal are mentioned incidentally in Gillebertus's treatise. A priest could consecrate 'the bread *et caetera*' to be used in an ordeal.[164] Gillebertus's *et caetera* stood for an additional substance, such as cheese, which is attested in use alongside bread in an ordeal.[165] An ordeal was a solemn ceremony enacted to prove guilt or innocence that was accompanied by a specific liturgical rite. The ordeal of the blessed morsel was generally used to determine the guilt or innocence of persons in cases of crimes that were secret, such as theft or adultery.[166] It took the form of the accused swallowing a substance that had first been exorcised and blessed. If guilty, the person would choke and blanch, but if innocent they would be able to swallow the mouthful freely and derive nourishment from it. While the liturgy for ordeals is included in pontificals, which suggests that supervision of the ordeal was an episcopal prerogative, the celebrant can nonetheless be referred to as *sacerdos* or *presbyter*, which indicates that the priest could carry out these rites, though possibly with the bishop's delegated permission.[167] Gillebertus also implicitly alluded to trial by water, the water (*aqua judicii*) for which the priest was also competent to bless.[168] Trial by water could have taken the form of a suspect having to drink blessed water, if innocent suffering no ill effects, or alternatively being thrown into deep water where, if guilty, the accused would float rather than sink.[169] By contrast with the

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162 See the identical Mass prayers *pro iter agentibus* in the Corpus, Drummond and Rosslyn missals: Warren, *The Manuscript Irish Missal*, 65; Forbes, *Missale Drummondiense*, 28; Lawlor, *The Rosslyn Missal*, 90. Cf. the miracle recounted by Donatus (?Domnall Ua Lonngargáin), archbishop of Cashel, who as a young cleric was reciting the psalms with Malachy when a youth knocked at the closed doors of the church seeking a blessing prior to embarking on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem: J. Leclercq, 'Documents on the cult of St Malachy' in his *Recueil d'Études sur St Bernard et ses Écrits*, 5 vols, Storia e Letteratura, 92, 104, 114, 167, 182 (Rome, 1966–92), ii, 131–48 at 138.

163 For blessing of a widow's veil, candles for the Purification and palms for Palm Sunday, see *PRG*, i, 59–62; ii, 5–8, 42–6; Wilson, *The Pontifical of Magdalen College*, 86–7, 150–51, 155–6.

164 Fleming, *Gille*, 156–7 lines 174–5.

165 Cf. the blessing of *iudicium panis et casei* in *PRG*, ii, 394–9. The priest is instructed to take dry bread and dry goat's cheese and inscribe the initials P[ater] N[oster] on both sides of each food item, and to inscribe in small script the goods stolen and the names of those accused. An identical ordeal of dry bread and dry goat's cheese is described in Wilson, *The Pontifical of Magdalen College*, 185–8.

166 R. Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water: The Medieval Judicial Ordeal* (Oxford, 1986), 160.

167 Cf. M. F. Giandrea, *Episcopal Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, Anglo-Saxon Studies (Woodbridge, 2007), 108–9. For trial by eucharistic ordeal, generally reserved for clergy to clear themselves of accusations, in which they were deemed to be innocent if they swallowed consecrated bread without choking, see Bartlett, *Trial by Fire*, 17 n. 12, 95.

168 Fleming, *Gille*, 156–7, line 174. For blessings of cold and of boiling water to be used for an ordeal, see *PRG*, ii, 383–414; Wilson, *The Pontifical of Magdalen College*, 181–4, 245–8.

169 Bartlett, *Trial by Fire*, 2, 10–11, 23–5, 33, 40, 76–7, 162. In non-Irish contexts, trial is attested by either hot or cold water: immersing the hand in boiling water usually to retrieve an object (the

bread and water for ordeals the judicial iron, according to Gillebertus, had to be blessed by the bishop.[170] In an ordeal by hot iron, as attested in Continental sources, an accused would be made to pick up a hot iron, walk a number of paces, and put the iron down. His hand would then be bandaged and sealed for a three-day period, after which the bandages would be removed and the wound inspected. If the burn was healing without suppuration he was deemed to be innocent; if it was unclean, he was judged guilty.[171]

It could be argued that Gillebertus's allusions to the ordeals of bread, water and the hot iron are exotic borrowings carried over by him from a non-Irish source on which he drew, and were not familiar practices in the Irish church. He is indeed very likely to have derived them from a pontifical or benedictional. However, there is ample evidence for different types of ordeal in Irish law tracts,[172] while Irish hagiography also affords instances. In Muirchú's Life of Patrick *ca* 690 the saint voluntarily undergoes a *iudicium aquae* and *per ignem* in the trial of divinities at Tara between christianity and the custodians of the old religion.[173] A miracle in the life of Molua of Clonfertmulloe described how the saint was able to pick up a ball of hot iron without experiencing any burn on his hand.[174] This suggests that a form of ordeal by hot iron was known in the Irish

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innocent would not be burnt by hot water), or complete immersion in a pool or stream (a guilty person would not sink). 'The proof of the cauldron' – that is, ordeal by hot water – is the most frequently attested of ordeals in early Irish law texts: F. Kelly, *Guide to Early Irish Law*, Early Irish Law Series, 3 (Dublin, 1988), 210–11. Irish apocryphal narratives of the infancy of Jesus portray Mary having to drink the *aqua probationis* ('water of testing') in order to prove that she conceived by an angel: M. McNamara et al. (eds), *Apocrypha Hiberniae I: Evangeliae Infantiae*, 2 vols, Corpus Christianorum, Series Apocryphorum, 13, 14 (Turnhout, 2001), i, 210–16; ii, 784–91, 946–8. This was modelled on a procedure described in the Old Testament (Numbers, 5:11–31), where the 'water of bitterness' was to contain dust from the floor of the tabernacle and be drunk by a woman suspected of adultery in a case where there were no witnesses. If guilty, her abdomen would swell and her thigh fall away. A version of this is described in *Di astud Chirt 7 Dligid* ('On the confirmation of Right and Law'), where its introduction is attributed to St Patrick; 'the ordeal of holy adjudication' was elaborated in a later legal commentary, according to which some of the letters or text of the Long Book of Leighlin were steeped in water which the suspect then had to drink – if guilty, their intestines would rot: Kelly, *Guide*, 210–11.

170 Fleming, *Gille*, 160–61, line 267. For a *benedictio ferri iudicialis*, see *PRG*, ii, 380–81; Wilson, *The Pontifical of Magdalen College*, 179–80. In 1082 the abbot of Saint-Wandrille, Rouen, was obliged to ask the archbishop of Rouen to consecrate a new ordeal iron because one of the monks 'out of ignorance and a certain simplicity' had appropriated the old one to other uses: C. Morris, '*Judicium Dei*: the social and political significance of the ordeal in the eleventh century' in D. Baker (ed.), *Church, Society and Politics*, Studies in Church History, 12 (Oxford, 1975), 95–111 at 100.

171 Bartlett, *Trial by Fire*, 1–2, 11, 14, 20–22, 25, 32, 48.

172 Above, n. 169.

173 Bieler, *The Patrician Texts*, 94–5.

174 Heist, *Vitae SS Hib.*, 134. Cf. the Lives of Ruadán of Lorrha and Colmán of Lynally where the saints carry hot coals and stones without being burnt: ibid., 166, 221. These three lives are among those identified as belonging to the O'Donohue group, therefore possibly dating from around 800: R. Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives: An Introduction to* Vitae sanctorum

church.[175] Gillebertus's treatise may therefore reflect not merely a mechanical borrowing from his exemplar but procedures that he regarded as appropriate for Irish use.

The priest's means of economic support is outlined as depending on the faithful of the parish offering first-fruits, tithes and other donations as a pastoral due; on the *mansus*, a plot of land set aside to support the priest that according to Gillebertus should be equivalent to at least one plough-land; on the enclosure with its cemetery; and on altar offerings made during the celebration of the eucharist.[176] Physically, the constituent parts of the parish, working inwards from the boundary, comprised the churchyard (*atrium*), the cemetery, the priest's house, the church, the altar, the chalice and other altar plate, and finally the eucharist (body and blood), the celebration of which defines sacerdotal status.

In addition to the six clerical grades below that of priest, Gillebertus also lists within the 'fold of the parochial church' three orders of the faithful, 'those engaged in praying, in ploughing, and in fighting'.[177] Such a tripartite division had become a stock description of society by the twelfth century,[178] although it is somewhat ironic that Gillebertus used the term *aratores* rather than the more usual *laboratores*, in light of the criticism by Gerald of Wales that the Irish 'had not progressed at all from the primitive habits of pastoral living' and that little land was cultivated.[179] Gillebertus's three-fold division of society has a unique feature in that he included among the laity who were subject to a parish priest individuals who were engaged in prayer. He cannot have intended those monks

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Hiberniae (Oxford (1991), 337–9. For similar miracles cf. the undated Life of Comgall, in Plummer, *Vitae SS Hib.*, i, 16; the undated Life of Ciarán of Saigir, in Plummer, *Vitae SS Hib.*, i, 231.

175 An ordeal of hot adze which required a suspect to lick a red-hot adze of bronze or lead and an ordeal of iron which required a suspect to carry a red-hot iron in his hand are listed among twelve types of ordeal in a 'late Old Irish text' in the fourteenth-century Books of Ballymote and Lecan: W. Stokes, 'The Irish ordeals' in W. Stokes and E. Windisch (eds), *Irische Texte mit Über-setzungen und Wörterbuch*, Serie 3, Heft 1 (Leipzig, 1891), 183–229 at 190, 192, 209, 210–11; Kelly, *Guide*, 210.

176 Fleming, *Gille*, 158–9.

177 Fleming, *Gille*, 148–9.

178 Constable, *Three Studies*, 251–341. The earliest instances of such a tripartite division of society are to be found in English sources from the late ninth century onwards. Some scholars have suggested an Irish origin. In the Book of the Angel, *ca* 675, there is a different tripartite division of virgins, the penitent and the legitimately married: Bieler, *The Patrician Texts*, 186–7. In Calcidius's commentary on Plato's *Timaeus* society was divided into priests, labourers and soldiers, and, although this text was studied intensively in at least one twelfth-century Irish school (above, pp. 21–2), it is unlikely to have influenced Gillebertus since interest in Platonic thought came later in the twelfth century.

179 *Giraldi Opera*, v, 151; Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, transl. J. J. O'Meara (Harmondsworth, 1982), 101–2. By contrast, in the Vision of Tnugdal Ireland is described as 'most fertile in cereals (*frugibus fertilissima*)': *Visio Tnugdali*, *4; *Vision of Tnugdal*, 111. In tripartite divisions of society in English sources the term *laboratores* is used; in the Continental authors Adalbero of Laon and Gerard of Cambrai the term is *agricultori*: Constable, *Three Studies*, 315.

who were not in clerical orders and might therefore have been classed as lay since, as he himself stated, they were subject to their abbot. In the accompanying diagrams in the two extant manuscripts the three non-clerical orders of pray-ers, ploughers and fighters are marked in the parish pyramid respectively as O[*ratores*], A[*ratores*] and B[*ellatores*], with a V for *viri* and an F for *feminae* on either side of each group, whereas in the adjoining monastic pyramid there are only O[*ratores*] without the division into *viri* and *feminae*.

The conventional three-fold division of society, into those who prayed, those who worked and those who fought, made no allowance for women, a difficulty that Gillebertus acknowledged: 'I do not say that it is the duty of women to pray, to plough, or most certainly not to fight. However, they are conjoined (*conjugatae*) to and subject to those who pray and plough and fight.'[180] Gillebertus's usage of *conjugati* and *conjugatae* applied to *oratores* within the parish can be interpreted as referring to the wives of those in non-celibate minor clerical grades, since elsewhere in the text Gillebertus acknowledged that the lower grades of door-keepers, lectors, exorcists and acolytes could be married.[181] However, Gillebertus may have intended to refer also to other women who prayed besides those married to lower clergy, such as women religious who could not be fitted into the seven clerical grades that he had outlined and had therefore to be classed with the laity. Such a possibility is suggested by the fact that in the bottom line of the diagram in the Cambridge manuscript *moniales* is spaced out between the letters of *canonicales* and *universales*.[182] These three words also occur in the main body of the text[183] and can therefore be attributed to Gillebertus and not just to the illustrator. In twelfth-century usage *moniales* invariably referred to female religious or nuns – that is, to women who lived a communal religious life. *Moniales* can be distinguished from vowesses (women who had taken a personal vow of chastity), whether as virgins or widows who pledged not to marry again. The inclusion of *moniales* alongside *canonicales* suggests that Gillebertus was conscious of the omission of women religious and the difficulty of accommodating them within the canonically recognised clerical grades in his diagrammatic scheme, but that he nonetheless felt the need to take account of them.[184] Virgins, vowed widows and female penitents may have been

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180 Fleming, *Gille*, 148–9.
181 Fleming, *Gille*, 152–3.
182 CUL, MS Ff. 1.27, p. 238. The equivalent line is not present in DCL, MS B.II.35, fol. 36v. Norton argues that the diagram in DCL MS B.II.35 is much closer to Gillebertus's text and earlier in date. Although the version in CUL, MS Ff1.27, p. 238, is finer from an artistic point of view, it is more difficult to read because the diagrammatic clarity of DCL MS B.II.35 has been compromised by the vertical rather than horizontal format of the illustration, which is also subordinated to artistic considerations: Norton, 'History, wisdom and illumination', 79–80. Nevertheless, Norton holds that both versions were copied from a common exemplar.
183 Fleming, *Gille*, 146–7, line 5.
184 Cf. the prayers in the Drummond missal *pro omni ecclesiastico gradu*, which details bishops, abbots, monks, *canonici* (clergy) and *sanctimoniales* (nuns): Forbes, *Missale Drummondiense*, 3. See also the early twelfth-century description of the similarities and differences between various

envisaged by him as also encompassed within the category of female *oratores*, women who abstained from sexual relations and were engaged in prayer, but who had to be counted alongside the laity (*universales*) since they could not conventionally be accommodated among the canonical grades of clergy (*canonicales*). He justified the inclusion of women among the pray-ers, ploughers and fighters with an implicit acknowledgement of their worth and contribution: women 'are not separated from the church on earth, while in heaven Christ places them alongside his mother'.[185] In light of this Marian explication, as well as his description of the feast on 2 February as the Purification of Mary rather than, for example, the Presentation of the Child Jesus in the temple,[186] it is worthy of note that his own cathedral church at Limerick was dedicated to the Virgin Mary.[187] A similar concern not to exclude women is evidenced in the early twelfth-century vernacular Life of St Colmán of Lann. The Life begins with a pericope from psalm 30, verse 25, *Viriliter agite, et confortetur cor vestrum, omnes qui speratis in Domino* ('Be strong, and let your heart take courage all you who wait for the Lord'), to which the hagiographer added the admonition that 'to keep strong your courage' while waiting for the Lord applied to women as well as to men, an explanation occasioned by *viriliter*, which literally translates as 'manfully'.[188] Gillebertus's awareness of female religious is evident also in his allusion to the bishop as ordaining 'the abbot, the abbess, the priest, and the other six grades',[189] and as 'blessing the virgin when she is being veiled'.[190] In the case of a widow Gillebertus stated that a priest, in the absence of a bishop, could bless her veil. Gillebertus therefore indubitably exhibited awareness of women religious in the guise of abbesses, dedicated virgins and vowed widows, and so conceivably may have envisaged these among female *oratores*.

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interpretations of the religious life where, having listed the seven grades of clergy, the anonymous author goes on to include *conversi* or lay brothers as clerics, though they had no grade of holy orders: G. Constable and B. Smith (eds), *Libellus de Diversis Ordinibus et Professionibus qui sunt in Aecclesia*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1972), 60–61.

185 Fleming, *Gille*, 148–9.

186 For the significance of Gillebertus's nomenclature, see below, p. 218.

187 *FFE*, iii, 304–5; Mac Erlean, 'Synod of Ráith Breasail', 10, 16.

188 Meyer, *Betha Colmáin*, 2–3. Cf. the use of this psalm as a pericope for a vernacular homily on Machabees with the explication 'this exhortation is common to men and women, for it is required alike from both that their energy of service to God should be virile: let everyone who hopes in God fight bravely': Atkinson, *Passions and Homilies*, 223, lines 6513–15; 460. Note the explication in *Scéla na Esérgi* ('Tidings of the Resurrection'): 'for where the apostle says all human beings will arise in perfect man he has there given the name of "man" to humankind in general, both men and women': W. Stokes (ed.), 'Tidings of the resurrection', *Revue Celtique*, 25 (1904), 244–5.

189 For the ordination of an abbess, the consecration of a virgin and that of a widow, where these rites are grouped with the other clerical orders, cf. *PRG*, i, 48–51, 59–62, 76–82; Wilson, *The Pontifical of Magdalen College*, 87–9.

190 Cf. the blessing of a virgin in an eighth-century liturgical fragment in Irish script that was preserved in a tenth-century book-binding: Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual*, 23–4.

The status of women religious, and whether or not they constituted an ordained *ordo*, was a matter of contemporary debate as exemplified in Peter Abelard's views, formulated at least in part in response to queries from his former lover, Heloise, about the *ordo sanctimonialum* ('the order of holy women'), or communities of women religious, a matter that greatly concerned Heloise after she became abbess of the convent of the Paraclete. Abelard held that abbesses were equivalent to an ancient order of deaconesses, and that it was an ordained office that had been instituted by Christ himself.[191] Abbesses therefore constituted an *ordo* that was sacramentally ordained and analogous to a male clerical *ordo*. In the view of Abelard, of his correspondent, Heloïse, and of a number of other twelfth-century writers, women religious in general, and abbesses in particular, were definitely not to be classed as lay women and were as certainly ordained as any other male cleric. Abbots, monks and others entering the religious life had been referred to as ordained throughout the early Middle Ages. *Ordinatio* had signified the fact of being designated to take up a certain function or *ordo*. Thus, the Rule of Benedict used *ordinatio* to refer to the installation of an abbot.[192] Kings and queens and emperors and empresses were also considered to be ordained to their office.[193] However, during the twelfth century the concept of *ordo* and *ordinatio* underwent dramatic change. Twelfth-century canonists sought to redefine and to narrow the concept of *ordinatio* to include only those *ordines* who served at the altar: the rank of deacon and above. In other words, ordination became limited to the higher male clergy.[194] Abbesses were obvious losers by this redefinition. Gillebertus's undoubted awareness of women religious, and his difficulty in accommodating them within the schema of seven clerical grades, may explain his unique gloss in the first person (*nec dico*) on the conventional three-fold division of lay society so as to include women. Although his comment represents his personal reflection, it may also hint at a more substantial contribution by female religious than historians have allowed.[195]

That the status of abbesses may have been a matter of debate in the twelfth-century Irish church is suggested by the comment made by the English cleric John of Salisbury on Cardinal Paparo's legatine decrees at the synod of Kells (1152), which John stated he had inspected in the papal archives: 'amongst other things he [Paparo] decreed that the abbesses of St Brigit, that is, of the church of

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191 G. Macy, 'Heloise, Abelard and the ordination of abbesses', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 57 (2006), 16–32.

192 Rule of Benedict, chapters 60.6; 62.1, 2; 64; 65.1, 3–4, 6, 11–12, 15–16 in A. de Vogüé and J. Neufville (eds), *La Règle de Saint Benoît*, 6 vols, Sources Chrétiennes, 181–6 (Paris, 1971–2), ii, 636, 640, 648–50, 654–6.

193 For Irish *oirdnidir*, conventionally translated as 'ordains' but more properly to bestow higher rank on a person, see T. M. Charles-Edwards, 'A contract between king and people in early medieval Ireland', *Peritia*, 8 (1994), 107–19 at 109.

194 G. Macy, *The Hidden History of Women's Ordination: Female Clergy in the Medieval West* (New York, 2008), 41–8.

195 For Malachy's provision for female religious, see below, pp. 149–54.

Kildare, should no longer take precedence over bishops in public assemblies'.[196] That more generally some relationship between the status of female religious and male holy orders was considered to exist in the Irish church is suggested by an entry in the Chronicle of Marianus Scottus (Máel Brigte of Movilla) who recorded how a well-known (*famossimus*) Irish cleric, Áed, was driven out of Ireland in 1053 because he was tonsuring female, as well as male, students and preaching that women did not have to cover their heads.[197] The necrology of the *Schottenklöster* of St James, Regensburg, contains commemorations for two Irish female religious, *Beatrix monacha scotigena* (7 July) and *Gertrudis monacha scotigena* (19 August).[198] The former may be identified with *Beatrix soror nostra* commemorated on 7 July in the necrology of the Benedictine nunnery of Niedermünster in Regensburg, while the latter is probably the *Gerdrudis* commemorated under 19 August in the same source.[199] These commemorations were transmitted to the necrology of St James, Regensburg, from that source. The context in which those Irish women entered the Benedictine convent of Niedermünster remains wholly obscure. Recovering information about the role of women religious in the medieval period is notoriously difficult, but especially so in relation to the twelfth-century Irish church, given the overall paucity of evidence.

In relation to the male ecclesiastical hierarchy, Gillebertus describes how, just as the laity are subject to the authority and judgement of the priest, so the priest, in turn, has to be obedient to his bishop. Seven duties are ascribed to a bishop: he administers confirmation and consecrates objects that are for church use; dedicates churches and altars;[200] consecrates other bishops, and ordains priests; holds synods; and grants absolution for major sins on Holy Thursday. As Gillebertus puts it, 'the bishop absolves the people from venial sins at the beginning of Lent

196 M. Chibnall (ed.), *The Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury* (London, 1956), 72.

197 G. Waitz (ed.), 'Mariani Scotti Chronicon' in MGH, *Scriptores*, v (Hanover, 1844), 558 (1075=1053); Migne, *PL*, cxlvii, 786A. The Irish-authored Life of Gertrude of Nivelles also alluded to female tonsure, describing how Gertrude's mother cut her own daughter's hair with a barber's blade in the shape of a crown so as to ensure that she would not be subjected to the advances of unwelcome suitors: J. A. McNamara and J. E. Halborg (eds), *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages* (Durham, NC, 1992), 224. For the date and authorship of this life, see J. Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland: An Introduction and Guide* (New York, 1929), 504–5.

198 D. Ó Riain-Raedel, 'Das Nekrolog der irischen Schottenklöster: Edition der Handschrift Vat. Lat. 10100 mit einer Untersuchung der hagiographischen und liturgischen Handschriften der Schottenklöster', *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bistums Regensburg*, 26 (1992), 69, 71.

199 F. L. Baumann (ed.), *Necrologia Germaniae*, iii, MGH (Berlin, 1905), 280, 282. A Beatrix *mo.* is recorded under the same date in the necrology of St Emmeram, Regensburg: E. Freise, D. Geuenich, and J. Wollasch (eds), *Das Martyrolog-Necrolog von St Emmeram zu Regensburg*, MGH, Libri Memoriales et Necrologia, Nova Series, 3 (Hanover, 1986), 232, plate 36v. She must therefore have died between 1045, when the core section of the necrology was compiled, and 1155, the latest date for insertion of additional entries.

200 Gillebertus draws a distinction between consecration and dedication, the latter explained as *dedicare enim est locum Deo offerre, benedicare, et sanctificare*: Fleming, *Gille*, 160.

and from criminal sins on Holy Thursday'.[201] Continental liturgical manuscripts from the tenth century onwards provide for a rite of public penance under episcopal jurisdiction that was initiated on Ash Wednesday and concluded with absolution on Holy Thursday.[202] It was the duty of the deacon, according to Gillebertus, to announce 'Let those leave who are not taking communion'[203] – that is, those who were under a penitential regime. In the Irish Canon Collection, 716×25, and the Penitentials, penitents were denied sacramental communion until their penances were complete, although there is no evidence that such public penance was exclusively under episcopal jurisdiction.[204]

Gillebertus implicitly assumes episcopal visitation of parochial churches when listing those blessings that are reserved to a bishop in the presence of a priest and those blessings which he could impart in the absence of a bishop. Twice a year the bishop holds a three-day synod, the purpose of which is to investigate the pastoral ministry of his priests and to resolve disputes between them. These meetings are envisaged as taking place in summer and in autumn. The timing conforms with the Romano-Germanic pontifical, which details when and how such synods should be conducted.[205] Gillebertus makes no mention of the attendance of kings, or other laity, at these episcopal synods. This indicates that his reference is to a diocesan synod concerned with clerical discipline within an individual diocese and not a provincial or metropolitan synod. An episcopal synod had no power to define the faith or to enact constitutions, but only to correct and exhort. As described by Gratian, episcopal synods had 'the authority

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201 I follow the translation of *venialibus* and *criminalibus* by D. E. Luscombe in his edition of *Peter Abelard's Ethics*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1971), 68–9. Fleming's translation of *criminalibus* as 'crimes' obscures Gillebertus's use of *crimen* in a moral rather than a juridical sense as well as his theological understanding of sin. By way of example, Abelard described overeating as venial, but perjury or adultery as criminal: ibid., 74–5. Abelard defined criminal sins as 'damnable or grave', acknowledging that some damnable sins were also criminal in a juridical sense since they were capable of making a person infamous or criminous because they were publicly known.

202 S. Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance, 900–1050* (London, 2001), 108–21, 150–66. For the rite of public penance and episcopal reconciliation on Holy Thursday in the Romano-Germanic pontifical, see *PRG*, ii, 59–67; S. Hamilton, 'The unique favour of penance: the church and the people, *c.* 800–1100' in P. Linehan and J. L. Nelson (eds), *The Medieval World* (London, 2001), 229–45 at 237–8.

203 *Exeant qui non communicant*: Fleming, *Gille*, 154–5.

204 Etchingham, *Church Organisation*, 290–316.

205 *Sancta sinodus bis in anno aecclesiastica decrevit habere concilia, unum estate aliud tempore autumni*: *PRG*, i, 280, lines 1–2. Cf. *qualiter concilium agatur provinciale prima secunda et tercia die. Sancta sinodus bis in anno decrevit habere concilio, unum estate, aliud tempore autumni*: Wilson, *The Pontifical of Magdalen College*, 54–6. Gillebertus does not mention Lent, a time when synods were beginning to be held following in the tradition of Pope Gregory VII (1073–85). Gratian, in his *Decretum ca* 1140, stated that episcopal councils should be held before Lent and in the autumn: Gratian, *The Treatise on Laws (Decretum DD. 1–20) with the Ordinary Gloss*; translated by A. Thompson and J. Gordley, Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law, 2 (Washington, DC, 1993), 71 (D.18 c.3). Cf. the Lenten synod convened in 1186 by John Cumin, archbishop of Dublin, below, pp. 81–2.

to impose and declare what has been otherwise decreed and commanded to be generally or particularly observed'.[206] Gillebertus conforms with that position when he goes on to assign the role of proclaiming the truth to a council over which a primate presides.

Gillebertus does not delineate in any detail the functions of an archbishop or a primate. He briefly attributes to an archbishop the responsibility for consecrating a bishop, assisted by other diocesan bishops. The archbishop and primate – who incorporates the grade of archbishop in his office – must each be ordained by the pope and procure the pallium in person from him as a sign of delegated authority unless some unavoidable circumstance, such as infirmity or war, preclude it. The primate is distinguished from an archbishop by the fact that, when other archbishops are present, it is he alone who ordains the king and places the crown on his head at the three solemn crown-wearing festivals of Christmas, Easter and Whitsun.[207] Gillebertus distinguishes between *ordinatio*, the inaugural ceremony of the king assuming royal office, and *coronatio*, a crown-wearing.[208] It has been suggested that the allusion to royal crownings is symptomatic of Gillebertus's English associations.[209] Certainly, it had become the custom of the English church by the eleventh century for the king to be ordained at one of those crown-wearing festivals.[210] However, it may simply be that Gillebertus was drawing on a pontifical that included rites for the crowning of a king. Coronation *ordines* are most commonly found in pontificals, including some that are known to have been copied for bishops or archbishops who would never have had the opportunity to crown a king, or were copied for churches where no coronation ceremonies actually took place.[211] The German kings also underwent crown-wearing ceremonies at Christmas, Easter and Whitsun, and wore their royal crowns for the day as part of the religious ceremonies.[212] German chroniclers and

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206 Gratian, *The Treatise*, 70 (D.18. c.1).

207 Fleming, *Gille*, 162–3, where the translation should read 'at the three solemnities' – that is, the three highest feasts, not 'with a threefold solemnity'.

208 For this distinction, see H. G. Richardson, 'The coronation in medieval England: the evolution of the office and the oath', *Traditio*, 16 (1960), 111–202 at 126; H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, *The Governance of Mediaeval England from the Conquest to Magna Carta* (Edinburgh, 1963), 405.

209 Brett, 'Canterbury's perspective', 32.

210 Richardson and Sayles, *The Governance*, 405–12.

211 See the *ordo ad regem benedicendum quando novus a clero et populo sublimatur in regnum*: *PRG*, i, 246–61; the *consecratio regis* by the metropolitan in Wilson, *The Pontifical of Magdalen College*, 89–94. Cf. R. A. Jackson (ed.), *Ordines Coronationis Franciae: Texts and Ordines for the Coronation of Frankish and French Kings and Queens in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols (Philadelphia, PA, 1995–2000), i, 12. When detailing the prerogatives of a bishop Gillebertus states that the blessing of a queen is also an episcopal prerogative: Fleming, *Gille*, 160–61. Cf. the *benedictio reginae* in *PRG*, i, 267–9; the *consecratio reginae* in Wilson, *The Pontifical of Magdalen College*, 95–6.

212 H.-W. Klewitz, 'Die Festkrönungen der deutschen Könige', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung* 28 (1939), 48–96. Cf. B. Arnold, *Medieval Germany, 500–1300: A Political Interpretation* (London, 1997), 141, 161, where a passage from a diploma

other sources frequently recorded the whereabouts of the German king on those feast days precisely because of his liturgical elevation. In Ireland too, Christmas, Easter and Whitsun ranked as the three highest festivals of the Christian calendar that were celebrated by kings with special solemnities. Well attested in the case of Easter is that Irish kings held special courts with ceremonial feasts for which temporary Easter houses, or banquet halls, were erected.[213] Whether Irish kings wore crowns is less certain, although it is likely that they did so by the twelfth century, if not before. The depiction of Christ on the uppermost section of the so-called Market high cross dating from *ca* 1150 at Tuam, the royal church of the Ua Conchobair kings of Connacht, offers some suggestive evidence. While the figure is shown in the posture of the crucifixion, with the head falling to the left in the manner of the suffering Christ, nonetheless Christ wears a crown of majesty.[214] There is also a possible indication from the early-twelfth-century dynastic propaganda text, *Caithréim Chellacháin Chaisil*, compiled in the interest of the Mac Carthaig kings, that some at least may have worn crowns.[215] That German imperial ritual may have had an impact on royal ceremony in the case of the Meic Carthaig as kings of Munster is suggested by an insertion among genealogies in the late-fourteenth-century Book of Lecan claiming that the kings

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(1158) of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa is cited: 'we wear a crown and diadem of glory, namely at Christmas, at Easter and at Pentecost'.

213 M. T. Flanagan, *Irish Society, Anglo-Norman Settlers, Angevin Kingship: Interactions in Ireland in the Late Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1989), 202–3; below, p. 219.

214 P. Harbison, *The Crucifixion in Irish Art* (Dublin, 2000), 20; idem, *The High Crosses of Ireland: An Iconographical and Photographic Survey*, 3 vols, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Forschungsinstitut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Monographien, 17 (Bonn 1992), i, 175–6, 285–6; ii, figures 604, 612; iii, figure 907. For a probable southern English model, see R. Stalley, 'The Romanesque sculpture of Tuam' in A. Borg and A. Martindale (eds), *The Vanishing Past: Studies of Medieval Art, Liturgy and Metrology Presented to Christopher Hohler*, BAR International Series, 111 (Oxford, 1981), 179–95 at 189–90; reprinted in R. Stalley, *Ireland and Europe in the Middle Ages: Selected Essays on Architecture and Sculpture* (London, 1994), 127–63. There is a similar twelfth-century crucified, head-inclined and crowned Christ at Glendalough: Harbison, *The High Crosses*, i, 95, 285; ii, figure 304. Cf. the possible crown on the late-twelfth-century/early-thirteenth-century bronze figure from the Augustinian priory of Abbeyderg (co. Longford): Harbison, *The Crucifixion*, 23. In the *Lebor na hUidre* version of *Fís Adomnáin* ('the Vision of Adomnán') there is reference to Christ's *mind ríg* and to *corónib carrmocail*, 'circles of carbuncle': R. I. Best and O. Bergin (eds), *Lebor na hUidre: Book of the Dun Cow* (Dublin, 1929), 69, line 2015; 70, line 2053; G. Mac Eoin, 'Observations on some Middle-Irish homilies' in P. Ní Chatháin and M. Richter (eds), *Irland und Europa im Früheren Mittelalter/ Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Bildung und Literatur/Learning and Literature* (Stuttgart, 1996), 205, 210. The fragmentary wall paintings in Cormac's Chapel at Cashel depict at least three figures wearing crowns in two separate sequences. They have been plausibly interpreted as the magi and dated *ca* 1170 on the assumption that the church was newly decorated for the council of Cashel, 1171/2, which latter, however, is questionable: R. Stalley, 'Design and function: the construction and decoration of Cormac's chapel at Cashel' in Bracken and Ó Riain-Raedel, *Ireland and Europe*, 162–75 at 173–5.

215 *Roghabhsat a mhind righ uma cenn* ('They placed his royal *mind* on his head'): A. Bugge (ed.), *Caithreim Cellachain Caisil: The Victorious Career of Cellachan of Cashel* (Christiania, 1905), 4, 61; cf. Royal Irish Academy, *Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language*, under *mind*.

of Munster should be elected in the same way 'as the German emperor is chosen' and should then be proclaimed at 'Cormac's great church' at Cashel, the chapel built by Cormac Mac Carthaig, the dedication of which is recorded in the annals in 1134. Since Cormac himself died in 1138, the passage may date to around the 1130s.[216] The influence of German imperial diplomatic is certainly evident in a charter issued 1167×75 by Cormac's son, Diarmait Mac Carthaig, most notably in the use of the royal style *divina favente clementia rex*.[217]

Gillebertus assumed a unitary kingdom with a corresponding church under a primate. Such a depiction, as already suggested, would have flattered the aspirations of Gillebertus's royal patron, Muirchertach Ua Briain, to the high-kingship of Ireland.[218] Since Gillebertus alluded to the primate's endorsement of conciliar proceedings after his prerogative of ordaining and consecrating the king, this may indirectly indicate that Gillebertus assumed a royal presence or representation at a primatial council. The presence of virtuous laity on the first day of a provincial council is allowed for in the Romano-Germanic pontifical,[219] and kings are indeed reported as present at major Irish synods in the twelfth century.[220]

Although there is little self-presence in the text, Gillebertus confidently interjected a note of clarification when discussing what a bishop should consecrate, ordain and bless: 'I say that a bishop is to bless those things which are not used in church and to consecrate those things which are.'[221] In other words, the bishop should consecrate only items directly used for the worship of God and set apart from common use. In relation to episcopal vestments he avers that, although Amalarius states that a priest should wear sandals and a dalmatic, *apud nos* ('among us') – which may be presumed to refer to the Irish church – they are worn only by bishops.[222] Amalarius wrote that both priest and bishop wore sandals, distinguishing the sandals of the bishop from those of the priest by the fact that the former had a thong, or fastening, because the bishop had to travel

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216 Ó Riain-Raedel, 'Cashel and Germany', 176.

217 Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters*, 177–83.

218 Above, pp. 59–60.

219 *PRG*, i, 275.

220 Below, p. 113.

221 Fleming, *Gille*, 160–61. Including the prefatory letter, Gillebertus uses the first person singular seven times, the first person plural four times and the phrase *apud nos* twice.

222 Fleming, *Gille*, 158–9. Cf. the *ordinatio episcopi* with accompanying prayers on bestowal of the *sandalia*: *PRG*, i, 214. The *De Divinis Officiis* attributed to Ivo of Chartres explained episcopal sandals as signifying that the ministry of God should not be encumbered with earthly things but should be open to the heavens: Zawilla, 'The *Sententia*', 151. That sandals were the appropriate footwear for bishops and cardinal priests, and that they should be open to the heavens so as to better understand its revelations, is argued by Hugh of Saint Victor in his *De Sacramentis Chrisitianae Fidei*: Migne, *PL*, clxxvi, 438A Bishop Bruno of Segni (*ob.* 1123), explained the bishop as wearing sandals in imitation of Christ's injunction to his apostles to do so (Mark, 6:9), and as protection against serpents and scorpions: *Tractatus de Sacramentis Ecclesiae* in Migne, *PL*, clxv, 1103A–B.

throughout his diocese and, without a fastening, would be in danger of losing his footwear.[223]

It may be assumed that we come closest to Gillebertus's conception of his own episcopal office in his description of the functions of a bishop. These are elaborated almost exclusively in relation to the bishop's interaction with priests of a parish. As already noted, one of the duties pertaining to a bishop was to assemble his priests in synod and to scrutinise them so as to ensure that they observed their priestly obligations and had all necessary utensils in their churches.[224] His treatise reads as a manual that was intended primarily for the instruction of secular clergy. The greater part of the text was taken up with a delineation of the duties of a parish priest and his competencies by comparison with other canonically ordained grades, but especially the bishop. It is not a manual of episcopal duties. There are no details about diocesan administration or office-holders, which would surely have deserved more coverage if the text had been aimed primarily at an episcopal readership; and if it had been written as a discussion document for the synod of Ráith Bressail a fuller exposition of relations between bishop, archbishop and primate, together with justificatory citations from biblical or canonical texts, could surely have been expected.

Overall, Gillebertus displayed an ability to organise material in a lucid and logical manner and to provide sufficient information to make the essential points succinctly. Presumably, the English copies were made and survive precisely because of the very clear structure and organisation of the text and its accompanying illustrative diagram, which further highlights its didactic purpose. Indeed, its use of a schematic diagram is another of its original features. The treatise is not overtly a product of the papally driven reform agenda. Gillebertus states that the pope rules over the universal church as the successor of Peter, citing the standard biblical justification 'You are Peter and upon this rock I will build my church',[225] while in his prologue, when referring to the diagram of the church, he highlighted that all the members of the church were placed under and governed by Christ and his 'vicar, the blessed apostle Peter, the one who presides in the Apostolic See'.[226] However, he provides little detail of how the pope might, in practice, interact with a regional church. He does not elaborate on the appellate jurisdiction of the pope beyond stating that 'he ordains and judges all others'.

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223 *Episcopus habet ligaturam in suis sandaliis, quam non habet presbyter … episcopi est huc illucque discurrere per parrochiam ad regendam plebem, ne forte cadant sandalia de pedibus, ligata sunt*: *Liber officialis*, II, 25 in Hanssens, *Amalarii Episcopi Opera*, ii, 251. Cf. above, p. 8, for the sandal relic of Pope Sylvester.

224 Cf. the *ordines* for the holding of a three-day general council and a three-day council of clergy convened by a bishop, or his *vicarius*: *PRG*, i, 269–91.

225 Fleming, *Gille*, 162–3. Cf. Pope Gregory VII's letter to Toirdelbach Ua Briain citing the Petrine justification for the authority of the bishop of Rome: Sheehy, *Pontificia*, i, no. 2; H. E. J. Cowdrey (ed.), *The* Epistolae Vagantes *of Pope Gregory VII*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1972), 138–9.

226 Fleming, *Gille*, 144–5.

The epistolary prologue is addressed simply to the 'bishops and priests of all Ireland'.[227] Gillebertus describes himself as bishop (*praesul*) of Limerick; there is no reference to papal legates, an office that he himself exercised, possibly for a substantial portion of his episcopate. This might be explained by the fact that Gillebertus was not legate at the time of writing, although his legateship might perhaps be inferred from the address and his use of the term 'beloved ones (*charissimi*)', at whose request he had ostensibly written, which may reflect some implication of authority over them. On the other hand, the epistolary address may be no more than an exordial rhetorical device, as it is couched in the most general of terms and does not name any individuals. It need not imply that the treatise was accompanied with an actual letter. The form of an introductory letter allowed an expression of personal opinion, such as Gillebertus did indeed articulate when he claimed that he had written 'so that those diverse and schismatical *ordines* by which almost the whole of Ireland is deceived, may yield to the one catholic and Roman office (*officium*)'. Considered alongside the *De Usu Ecclesiastico* rubric of the epistolary prologue, this appears to emphasise uniformity of worship: the reward that Gillebertus seeks for having written the work is that the bishops and priests of Ireland 'praise God with one heart and one voice'. This liturgical theme in the prologue is at variance, however, with the actual content of the treatise, which contains little treatment of liturgical observances or emphasis on the promotion of uniformity of liturgical worship.[228]

The two different rubrics *De Statu Ecclesiae* and *De Usu Ecclesiastico*, which, however, are unlikely to be Gillebertus's autograph, have suggested to some scholars the possibility that he wrote two separate treatises.[229] Yet the terms *ordo* and *officium* may provide the link between the prologue and the treatise. *Ordo*

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227 Fleming, *Gille*, 144–5. It conforms with the epistolary form of the *artes dictaminis* in that it may be divided into salutation, exordium, narration, petition and phrases of conclusion or farewell. Cf. G. Constable, *Letters and Letter-Collections*, Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental, Fascicule 17, A-II (Turnhout, 1976), 16–17.

228 There are some liturgical allusions, as when Gillebertus states that the priest is to recite the *Te Deum*, the *Benedictus* and the *Magnificat* at solemn feasts. Gillebertus ascribes to the deacon the saying of *Exeant qui non communicant* and, in relation to the final blessing, *Humiliate vos ad benedictionem, Humiliate capite vestra, Ite missa est, Benedicamus domino*: Fleming, *Gille*, 154–5. According to Yitzhak Hen, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul, 481–751* (Leiden, 1995), 69, n. 95, the formula *Humiliate vos ad benedictionem* appears for the first time in the tenth-century sacramentary of Radoldus. In relation to burial committal Gillebertus names the antiphon, *De terra plasmasti me*: Fleming, *Gille*, 158–9. The full antiphon is given as *De terra formasti me carne induisti me, redemptor meus, domine, resuscita me in novissimo die* in the *Missa in cimiteriis* in *PRG*, ii, 301, CXLIX, 66, with variants in some manuscripts as *De terra plasmasti me*. In the *Sepultura mortui* in Wilson, *The Pontifical of Magdalen College*, 198, the antiphon is given as *De terra plasmasti me et carne induisti me memento mei domine dum veneris in nouissimo die*.

229 Support for such a view is Gillebertus's qualification in relation to the priest's duty to pray, especially in celebrating the Hours and the Mass, *quia breviter non potest in sequentibus tractabitur*: Fleming, *Gille*, 154–5.

might be used of a liturgical action, or a guide for the celebrant and his ministers in setting out the arrangement of a ritual procedure.[230] But it could also be used of functions and ministries. Thus, Gillebertus referred to the laity as the *ordines fidelium*.[231] Indeed, it has been argued that the primary meaning of *ordo* in twelfth-century sources was rank, or grade, or *modus vivendi*.[232] An *ordo* signified a division of society, or a calling or grouping, secular as well as ecclesiastical, as in *ordo monasticus*, or *ordo canonicus*, or the sacrament of major orders, or the order of the priesthood. The word *status* was often used as a synonym for *ordo* in the sense of particular groups, or in conjunction with it. Thus, an *ordo* could refer to specified offices performed in virtue of *status*. The treatise, with the rubric *De Statu Ecclesiae*, outlines the various functions of the different *ordines* within the church. Hence, it can be linked to the prologue which seeks to correct 'the diverse and schismatical *ordines* [ranks] by which almost the whole of Ireland was deluded'.[233] The biblical quotation of praising God in unison is used in the prologue as a metaphor for uniformity: just as one should have unanimity of liturgical *ordines* (rites), so the various *ordines* (ranks, grades) in the Irish church should conform to those of the universal church. There is an implicit criticism that an *ordo* which is regarded as most learned (*doctissimus*) in the Irish church would be regarded as ignorant (*idiota*) and of lay status (*laicus*) in another church. Is this not an allusion to *airchinnig*, or non-clerical rulers, who were nonetheless accorded ecclesiastical status?[234] 'Just as the confusion of tongues, owing to pride, was reduced to unity by apostolic humility, so the confusion of orders, which has arisen through negligence or presumption, should now return through your zealous and earnest efforts to the consecrated rule of the Roman church': the meaning shifts from liturgical *ordines* to hierarchical *ordines*.[235]

Gillebertus's treatise is confidently written yet moderate and non-controversial in tone and practical in purpose. Its primary focus was on neither liturgical observances nor episcopal government, but rather delineating the functions of the seven clerical grades and, more particularly, of the priest in the parish. The treatise betrays no trace of a monastic vocabulary. There is no discussion of monasticism other than to deny categorically to monks any responsibilities for pastoral care of the laity and to emphasise that monks, like secular clergy,

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230 Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 135–6.

231 Fleming, *Gille*, 148.

232 M.-D. Chenu, *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West* (Toronto, 1997), 81, 225.

233 Fleming, *Gille*, 144–5.

234 Cf. Bernard of Clairvaux's description of the eight married men who ruled the church of Armagh without being ordained, though they were literate: *Vita Malachiae*, 330, lines 1–2; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 37–8; above, p. 36. The view that the synod of Cashel in 1101 legislated against laymen holding the headship of churches is rejected by Holland as inaccurate because they may have been tonsured and this was in line with Irish practice: Holland, 'Were early Irish church establishments under lay control?' This ignores the reformist emphasis on ordained orders, very evident in Gillebertus's treatise.

235 Fleming, *Gille*, 144–5.

were subject to the authority of a bishop: 'it is not the task of monks to baptise, to give communion, or to minister anything to the laity unless, in case of necessity, they obey the command of the bishop; having left the secular world to be free for prayer, their duty is solely to God'.[236] Gillebertus's expectation of episcopal supervision of monasteries and the denial of any pastoral role to monks could hardly be more clearly expressed.

As a source for episcopal instruction of secular clergy and parochial organisation, Gillebertus's treatise must stand in isolation in the absence of other reformist texts. The Irish Canon Collection had contained a systematic description of the attributes and duties of the seven ecclesiastical grades,[237] and the reciprocal responsibilities of clergy and laity as a form of pastoral contract had been the subject of a number of vernacular legal treatises, such as the early-eighth-century *Bretha Nemed Toísech* ('First Judgements of Privileged Persons') and *Córus Béscnai* ('Regulation of Proper Behaviour'), which delineated the mutual obligations of clergy and laity. Gillebertus's treatise bears closest comparison, however, with a vernacular text that may originally have been formulated in Latin which now passes under the name of the *Ríagail Pátraic* ('Rule of Patrick'),[238] in that it is concerned to a greater degree than other vernacular law texts with the role of the bishop and his supervision of pastoral clergy and the duty of those clergy to provide the essential services of baptism, communion and a requiem liturgy for the laity, and to have the necessary equipment to do so, including a church with a consecrated burial-ground and an altar with its proper fittings.

In its treatment of church furnishings, a comparison may be drawn, in the absence of other material, between Gillebertus's treatise and the acts of the provincial synod held in March 1186 by the first Anglo-Norman archbishop of Dublin, John Cumin.[239] There are similarities of emphasis: Cumin passed decrees in relation to altars and altar plate, ablution drains and baptismal fonts. Altars in baptismal or mother-churches were to be made of stone and not wood, 'as has

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236 Fleming, *Gille*, 148–9. Cf. the decree of the synod of Clermont, 1095, that monks were to be subject to the authority of their bishops: Somerville, *The Councils of Urban*, 114.

237 Above, p. 60, n. 129.

238 D. A. Binchy (ed.), *Corpus Iuris Hibernici*, 6 vols (Dublin, 1976), vi, 2129.6–2130.37; J. G. O'Keeffe, 'The rule of Patrick', *Ériu*, 1 (1904), 216–24. This text has been variously dated to the eighth or ninth centuries. Patricia Kelly, on linguistic grounds, has supported Kathleen Hughes's view of a ninth-century date: P. Kelly, 'The rule of Patrick: textual affinities' in P. Ní Chatháin and M. Richter (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Texts and Transmission / Irland und Europa im Früheren Mittelalter: Texte und Überlieferung* (Dublin, 2002) 284–95 at 287; see also Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, 258–9, on its importance for demonstrating the continuing vigour of episcopal authority; idem, 'The church in the early Irish laws', 69–70; R. Sharpe, 'Some problems concerning the organization of the church in early medieval Ireland', *Peritia*, 3 (1984), 230–70 at 252–9.

239 Imperfectly preserved in a papal confirmation procured by John Cumin from Pope Urban III: Sheehy, *Pontificia*, i, no. 16. The transcript is severely mutilated with gaps in the text. A partial English translation is provided in M. P. Sheehy, *When the Normans Came to Ireland* (Cork, 1975), 60–66.

been the ancient custom of this country'.[240] If there was insufficient stone available for an entire altar, an altar-stone was to be inserted into a wooden table at the place where the host would be consecrated and it was to be of sufficient dimensions that it extended beyond the widest chalice. Two altar-cloths were to be used, the top one of which had to cover the table of the altar and was to be blessed, while the under-cloth was to cover the front of the altar right down to the base, and the cloths were to be clean and without blemish. Chalices were to be of gold or silver in wealthier churches and, while they might be made of tin in poorer churches, they had always to be clean and in good condition. A channel of wood or stone which ran directly into the ground was to take away the water that the priest had used in washing after communion so that it and any particles of the host that might have been on his hands would drain into consecrated ground and not be defiled by any unclean contact. Gillebertus had specified 'a hollowed-out trunk of wood or block of stone into which the water for washing sacred things (*sacra*) may drain away'.[241] According to Archbishop Cumin's legislation, in baptismal or mother-churches there was to be a fixed baptismal font made of wood or stone with sufficient space around it so that a procession with the paschal candle could encircle it. The font interior was to be lined with lead to keep it clean, the top was to be wide, and at its base there was to be an exit by which the blessed water and chrism could run into the ground. Old and worn vestments and altar-cloths were to be burnt and the ashes thrown into the channel of the baptismal font whence they would be buried in the earth. The vessel for pouring water in baptism was not to be used for any other purpose, 'for it is entirely unworthy that what has been set aside for divine service should be converted to human use'.[242] As Gillebertus had also stated, the dead were to be buried in consecrated cemeteries, but Cumin's legislation elaborated that the dead should not be buried 'in any alleged cemetery unless it be quite clear, through written proof or the testimony of trustworthy witnesses, that it had been blessed by a bishop'.[243] That Cumin in his provincial synod of 1186 reflected similar concerns to those of Gillebertus should not be taken to signify the total failure of Gillebertus's prescriptions, since reiteration across time and place was a ubiquitous feature of synodal legislation.

All in all, Gillebertus's treatise affords a valuable insight into episcopal duties as conceived by one Irish bishop who exercised pastoral leadership within the diocese of Limerick for a thirty-year period and also served as resident papal

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240 The removal of wooden altars and their replacement in stone had been decreed at the legatine Council of Winchester in 1070: Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, *Councils and Synods*, i, part 2, 575.

241 Fleming, *Gille*, 158–61. For this feature, see D. Parsons, '*Sacrarium*: ablution drains in early medieval churches' in L. A. S. Butler and R. K. Morris (eds), *The Anglo-Saxon Church: Papers on History, Architecture and Archaeology in Honour of Dr H. M. Taylor*, CBA Report, 60 (London, 1986), 105–20 at 110–16.

242 Sheehy, *When the Normans Came*, 62.

243 Ibid.

legate, possibly continuously, from 1111 to 1139. He must also have derived considerable influence from his association with the Ua Briain kings of Munster, even if the death of Muirchertach Ua Briain in 1119 may have led to some curtailment. Patently, much more work remains to be undertaken in tracing the sources from which he derived his material. His attested English associations should not, however, rule out a Continental dimension to his career. Admittedly, Rouen, where Gillebertus had met Archbishop Anselm, was the capital of the duchy of Normandy and therefore within the Anglo-Norman sphere of influence. Yet the circumstances in which Gillebertus received his clerical training, was consecrated bishop, was first appointed papal legate, and in which his legateship was confirmed by one, or more, popes, remain unknown. At the very least, his analogy between the status of pope and emperor should alert us to a possible Continental dimension that extended beyond the Anglo-Norman realm and oblige scholars to keep an open mind about the various influences on which Gillebertus may have been able to draw.

   If so little is known of the individual careers of bishops, even less information can be recovered about secular clergy, their training and the quality of their pastoral care. One other didactic work written for the instruction of pastoral clergy survives in the form of an eighty-six stanza poem in Irish on the doctrine of the Real Presence in the eucharist composed by Echtgus Ua Cúanáin, who named himself as author, while the rubric in the sole extant manuscript described him as 'of the community of Ros Cré'.[244] Almost certainly he is to be identified with Isaac Ua Cúanáin, whose death as bishop of Éile and Ros Cré and chief *senóir* of Munster is recorded in 1161.[245] The poem owes its survival to the fact that it was copied by Mícheál Ó Cléirigh in the early seventeenth century. Since it concluded with a stanza seeking a blessing on all ordained persons (*aes ngráidh*) and exhorting them to memorise the poem and communicate it to the laity, it may be inferred that it was intended for use by secular clergy, who were also advised not to administer the eucharist to ignorant persons. The doctrinal content is presented in simple, straightforward terms, relying on biblical citations uttered by Christ at the Last Supper (John, 6:54–7) and dramatic biblical examples of God's power in performing miracles, such as the parting of the Red Sea. Pope Gregory I is cited as the authority for the view that, although not noticeable to the priest at the time of consecration, angels bear the host aloft to Christ, to his physical body.[246] An anecdote is then related about Bishop Flagellus who, when

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244 Irish text in A. G. van Hamel, 'Poems from Brussels MS. 5100–4', *Revue Celtique*, 37 (1919), 345–9; translation in G. Murphy, 'Eleventh or twelfth century Irish doctrine concerning the Real Presence' in J. A. Watt, J. B. Morrall, and F. X. Martin (eds), *Medieval Studies Presented to Aubrey Gwynn, S. J.* (Dublin, 1961), 19–28.

245 *AFM*; cf. *AT*.

246 Gregory had written that at the very moment the priest pronounced the words of the offering of the eucharist choirs of angels were present, joining the earthly and the heavenly: *Dialogues*, IV, 60, 3 in A. de Vogüé and P. Antin (eds), *Grégoire Le Grand: Dialogues*, 3 vols, Sources Chrétiennes, 251, 260, 265 (Paris, 1978–80), iii, 202–3. Cf. the eucharistic miracle in the earliest

offering Mass in the church of St Ninian of Whithorn, besought God that he might see his son present in the flesh, not because he did not believe but because he wished to worship him more fully. Thereupon, the son of God appeared in the form of a child sitting on the altar, enabling Flagellus to embrace him, notwithstanding, as Echtgus added, he 'was not absent from heaven'. It was the kind of vivid image that could have been deployed in preaching on the eucharist to an uneducated laity. It was not, however, Echtgus's own, since it is already attested in an eighth-century Latin poem on St Ninian.[247] Reflective of a twelfth-century context is the proposition that the Real Presence in the eucharist is not affected by the sins or shortcomings of the celebrant, since it is God himself who performs the change. By way of illustration, the case of Judas is cited: even though Judas was a bad priest, had he given Christ's body to someone who believed and repented of his sins, it would have been a perfectly pure sacrifice.[248] There may be an echo here of the debates of reformers about the validity of the sacraments administered by non-celibate clergy, or those who had been ordained by simoniac bishops, debates that became critical from about 1050 onwards. The rigorist position adopted by Humbert of Silva Candida in his *Three Books against the Simoniacs* that the orders of such clergy inflicted corporeal damage on the mystical body of Christ was not accepted by all reformers, the majority of whom continued to insist on the integrity of the sacraments even of those clerics who had been compromised by simony.[249] If the identification of the author of this poem as Bishop Isaac Ua Cúanáin is secure, it offers a glimpse of a bishop seeking to instruct his clergy so that they might, in turn, transmit it to their lay flocks.

If it is accepted that Gillebertus's treatise and Echtgus Ua Cúanáin's rhymed composition were intended primarily for the instruction of secular clergy ministering to lay communities, it raises in an acute way the problem of pastoral care and the structures whereby it may have been delivered at the time when Gillebertus and Echtgus were writing. Gillebertus assumed the existence of a parochial church with attached graveyard that had its own priest with his own

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life of Gregory of the appearance of a physical fragment covered in blood on the altar: B. Colgrave (ed.), *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great, by an Anonymous Monk of Whitby* (Lawrence, KS, 1968), 104–9.

247 K. Strecker (ed.), 'Miracula Nynie Episcopi' in MGH, *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, IV, Fascicle ii (Berlin, 1923), 943–62 at 957–9, where the name-form is Plecgils; translation in J. MacQueen, *St Nynia with a Translation of the Miracles of Bishop Nynia by Winifred MacQueen* (Edinburgh, 1990), 98–100; discussion in W. Levison, 'An eighth century poem on St Ninian', *Antiquity*, 14 (1940), 280–91. This eucharistic miracle was taken up *ca* 832 by Paschasius Radbertus in his *De Corpore et Sanguini Domini*, referring to *in gestis Anglorum*: *PL*, cxx, 1319–21.

248 Cf. Lanfranc's letter to Bishop Domnall Ua hÉnna on the eucharist which used the example of Judas in a slightly different way: *Letters of Lanfranc*, no. 49, 158–9.

249 C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250*, Oxford History of the Christian Church (Oxford, 1989), 100–101. The Irish Penitentials had displayed deep anxiety about the purity of the sacraments and those who handled them. Cf. Penitential of Vinnian, cc. 10–21, Penitential of Cummean, II, XI, in Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials*, 76–81, 112–17, 130–33.

residence within an enclosure and some adjoining land. In other words, he described single-tier parishes under a bishop. He did not refer to either mother-churches or dependent churches or chapels. His use of the terms *parochia* and *ecclesia parochialis* is noteworthy, since *parochia* could still be used in the early twelfth century to refer to the sphere of jurisdiction of a bishop – that is, a diocese.[250] He makes clear his usage: 'I call the parish the people who pay first fruits, offerings, and tithes'.[251] Was he thereby proposing a new model of pastoral provision for the Irish church and, if so, what existing structures, if any, was it to replace?[252] There is no scholarly consensus on the level of pastoral services that was provided prior to the twelfth century. It has been argued by Richard Sharpe that a system of baptismal mother-churches, or 'greater churches', analogous to the minster churches of Anglo-Saxon England, which staffed, trained and gave general organisational support to smaller local churches of one or two clergy, existed in the Irish church, as it did elsewhere in northern Europe. Indeed, Sharpe went so far as to suggest that Ireland had 'one of the most comprehensive pastoral organisations in northern Europe'.[253] By contrast, Colmán Etchingham has contended that pastoral provision, with reciprocatory payment of dues, was confined to tenants on church land who enjoyed a 'paramonastic' status, as evidenced by the extension of the term *manaig* (from Latin *monachi*) to that category of persons.[254]

The development on the Continent of single-tier parishes with full parochial rights was once assumed to have been the achievement of the reformers of the Carolingian age. More recent scholarship, however, has suggested that the Carolingian reforms had less impact and that the formation of single-tier parishes proceeded much more slowly than has previously been supposed. A system of mother-churches with dependent chapels certainly survived in England and in Italy into the eleventh century.[255] In towns, moreover, very few lesser churches achieved full parochial status until after 1100; it was only from that date that a general transfer of parochial rights from mother churches to lesser churches began to take place. The creation of the bishopric of Dublin in the early eleventh

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250 Cf. Anselm's usage, above, p. 40. For the *parochia* of the bishop of Leighlin in a charter, 1162×65, see Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters*, 254.

251 Fleming, *Gille*, 148–9, 150–51, 158–9.

252 The most recent discussion of parochial development in Ireland is the series of essays in E. FitzPatrick and R. Gillespie (eds), *The Parish in Medieval and Early Modern Ireland: Community, Territory and Building* (Dublin, 2005).

253 Sharpe, 'Churches and communities', 109.

254 Etchingham, *Church Organisation*, 239–89; reiterated in his 'Pastoral provision in the first millennium: a two-tier service' in FitzPatrick and Gillespie, *The Parish*, 79–90. For conflicting interpretations of the extant physical evidence, see the papers by Elizabeth FitzPatrick, Tomás Ó Carragáin and Tadhg O'Keeffe in the same volume.

255 S. Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900–1300* (Oxford, 1984), 79–100; J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), 368–504. For Italy, see also C. E. Boyd, *Tithes and Parishes in Medieval Italy: The Historical Roots of a Modern Problem* (Ithaca, NY, 1952).

century is chronologically broadly in line with that development. It is likely that one stimulus was a need to organise parishes within the city of Dublin in response to a growing urban population, as indicated by archaeological evidence, that had become too large to be served by a single church.[256]

It has been conventional to argue that although Irish reformers had succeeded in putting a territorially fixed diocesan structure in place by the eve of Anglo-Norman intervention, little headway had been made in setting up territorially coherent parochial structures which were supported materially by the payment of tithes. That minimalist view, advanced by A. J. Otway-Ruthven,[257] has been most forcefully reiterated by Adrian Empey.[258] These scholars base their position on references to the non-payment of tithes in late-twelfth-century sources, high-lighting, for example, the third decree of the synod of Cashel (1171/2), convened under the auspices of King Henry II, that henceforth tithes of animals, crops and other produce should be paid by all the faithful 'to the church of which they have been parishioners (*cuius fuerint parochiani*)' and Gerald of Wales's remark in his *History and Topography of Ireland* (1185×89) that the Irish, among enumeration of their many crimes, 'do not yet pay tithes'.[259] There is a certain irony in the fact that some scholars have attributed the spread of the tithe on the Continent during the eighth century to Irish influence which paved the way for its general accep-tance.[260] It should be borne in mind that it does not necessarily follow that the provision of pastoral care had to depend on the existence of a territorially defined tithe-based network of parishes. In any case, both Otway-Ruthven and Empey (who, for example, refers to the 'pre-parochial pastorless situation'[261] before the advent of the Anglo-Normans) downplay the extent to which Anglo-Norman settlers may pragmatically have created their parishes from existent Irish

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256 J. Bradley, 'The topographical development of Scandinavian Dublin' in F. H. A. Aalen and K. Whelan (eds), *Dublin City and County: From Prehistory to Present* (Dublin, 1992), 43–56 at 46–53; H. B. Clarke, 'Conversion, church and cathedral: the diocese of Dublin to 1152' in J. Kelly and D. Keogh (eds), *History of the Catholic Diocese of Dublin* (Dublin, 1999), 19–50 at 47–9, who argues that the pattern of intramural churches in Dublin was completed before Anglo-Norman intervention.

257 A. J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Parochial development in the rural deanery of Skreen', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 94 (1964), 118–22.

258 See A. Empey, 'The layperson in the parish: the medieval inheritance, 1169–1536' in R. Gillespie and W. G. Neely (eds), *The Laity and the Church of Ireland, 1000–2000: All Sorts and Conditions* (Dublin, 2001), 7–48; idem, 'Origins of the medieval parish revisited', 29–50.

259 *Expugnatio*, 98–9; J. J. O'Meara, 'Giraldus Cambrensis in Topographia Hibernie', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 52C (1949), 113–78 at 166 (*nondum enim decimas vel primitias soluunt*); *Giraldi Opera*, v, 164; Gerald of Wales, *History and Topography*, 106.

260 'by general agreement, it was those Irish collections that spread the idea of the tithe' in the eighth century: Boyd, *Tithes*, 33. For references to tithes in Irish canon collections, see Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials*, 166–9; *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*, II. 11, XXV, 9 in Wasserschleben, *Die Irische Kanonensammlung*, 15, 78; R. Kottje, *Studien zum Einfluß des Alten Testamentes auf Recht und Liturgie des Frühen Mittelalters 6.–8. Jahrhundert*, 2nd edn, Bonner Historische Forschungen, 23 (Bonn 1970), 64–6; Etchingham, *Church Organisation*, 240–45.

261 Empey, 'The layperson', 47.

churches, since very few of the colonists' churches were new-build churches before the thirteenth century and most were located at pre-twelfth-century church sites. Of the parish names in Meath, for example, 78 per cent suggest a pre-Anglo-Norman origin, and of those in Dublin county, 70 per cent are early Christian in origin, suggesting that the Anglo-Normans 'were inheritors rather than creators of ecclesiastical structures'.[262]

Some pre-Anglo-Norman evidence may be recovered for a two-tier structure of mother-churches, or baptismal churches, to which dues and baptismal rights normally belonged, and dependent chapels – that is, chapels which may not have had had full pastoral rights over the laity living in the vicinity, nor perhaps even a permanently resident priest. In the course of the twelfth century a transfer of parochial rights from mother-churches to such lesser churches was in train. That such a development was inaugurated in Ireland following the advent of Anglo-Norman colonists may simply be an illusion created by a dramatic increase in documentation, especially charters of infeudation attendant on Anglo-Norman settlement in Leinster and Mide.[263] Anglo-Norman parochial structures appear to have been effected, in part at least by the diversion of dues from a pre-existing mother-church to local chapels which, in the process, acquired full parochial status. Continental evidence suggests that although the formation of single-tier parochial churches can be understood as an aspect of reform taken forward by clerics, it might also coincide with lay demands for local churches. This was certainly the case among the Anglo-Norman colonists in Ireland and was the more rapidly implemented when incoming settler-tenants had no long-standing loyalty to a particular mother-church. Needless to say, it was also to the political advantage of the colonists in promoting seignorial solidarity to have a parish that was coterminous with a unit of secular lordship. To an Anglo-Norman colonising lord, a single-tier parish church that was not subservient to a mother-church, the latter possibly located outside his land-holding and with long-established associations with the native population, was more advantageous: it would undoubtedly have helped to promote the solidarity of his secular unit of lordship. One means of disengaging a local dependent chapel from a mother-church was to grant it as an ecclesiastical benefice to a monastic community that would then press for freedom of obligations to any mother-church. In the eyes of ecclesiastical reformers, monastic ownership of newly independent parish churches may have been preferable to local lay control, but the pastoral services for the laity within such parishes may not necessarily have improved. The delivery of pastoral care did not prove to be a high priority for monastic beneficiaries and thus the services provided to the laity may not have been materially enhanced by such transfers.

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262 P. J. Duffy, 'The shape of the parish' in E. FitzPatrick and R. Gillespie (eds), *The Parish in Medieval and Early Modern Ireland: Community, Territory and Building* (Dublin, 2005), 33–61 at 44. In relation to parish development in England, 'the Norman settlement was more a stimulus to an existing trend than a new beginning': Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 507.

263 Sharpe, 'Churches and communities', 104.

And if it also resulted in Anglo-Norman appointees as pastors, who did not necessarily know the Irish language and local practices of a proportion of their parishioners, it would have had even less of a beneficial impact on pastoral provision.

The relatively late development of single-tier parishes in the Irish church, which was certainly in train by the twelfth century, should be seen in the comparative context of similarly late developments in Italy and in England, where minsters were analogous to mother-churches. Paradoxically, in the Irish context time-honoured ties of loyalty to mother-churches may have slowed the transfer of churches into a single-tier parish system. A local community might worship in a local chapel and yet at the same time have a sense of loyalty and pay dues to a mother-church. The geographical area from which the baptismal rights of such pre-Anglo-Norman mother-churches were drawn is in some cases preserved in what became rural deaneries within the twelfth-century dioceses. The process of removal of dependent chapels from mother-churches can be discerned in the case of the ancient church of Lusk (co. Dublin), which lost its dependent chapel of Balrothery when the latter was appropriated to the Augustinian priory of Tristernagh, an Anglo-Norman foundation of Geoffrey de Costentin.[264] It is likely that what became the parishes of Naul and Holywood had also previously been dependent chapels of the mother-church of Lusk. A case for the churches of Finglas and Clondalkin being mother-churches analogous to that of Lusk has also been accepted.[265] What those three churches share in common is that they are located within the diocese of Dublin, for which the best medieval records survive and which therefore affords more information on structures dating from the immediate pre-Anglo-Norman period.

The single-tier parish was to win out over the mother-church and its dependent chapels, but the shift to single-tier parishes need not imply that no other system of pastoral care supported by lay dues had previously been in place. Archbishop John Cumin's provincial synod of 1186 decreed that Mass was not to be celebrated in chapels constructed by laymen to the injury of mother-churches without the permission of the bishop of the diocese and the pastor of the mother-church, in line with practice elsewhere.[266] Charges of non-payment of tithes can be interpreted in a number of ways. Tithes may have been appropriated by local lay lords, as may be suggested by the second decree of the synod of Cashel (1101).[267] That tithes were not being paid punctually (*co hiondraic*) is the emphasis of the annalistic entry in the Annals of the Four Masters concerning the synod of Kells (1152). The third decree of the council of Cashel (1171/2), could be read as indicating not that tithes were not being paid but rather they were not

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264 M. T. Flanagan, '*Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* and the origins of Balrothery, Co. Dublin', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 28 (1994), 71–94.
265 Empey, 'The origins of the medieval parish', 45.
266 Above, n. 239. The church of Swords should be added to this list.
267 Above, p. 48.

going to the appropriate parochial church.[268] The Drummond missal contains a prayer *pro parrochianis nostris quorum decimis et oblationibus et elemosinis utcunque sustentamur* ('for our parishioners by whose tithes and oblations and alms we are sustained in whatever manner').[269] In *Fís Adomnáin* ('the Vision of Adomnán'), in the early-twelfth-century Lebor na hUidre, among those who are depicted in hell are 'merciless ecclesiastical *airchinnig* who rule over shrines of the saints to gain donations and tithes of the church, making this treasure their own particular property rather than that of the invited and needy ones of the Lord'.[270] In the early-twelfth-century Life of Colmán mac Luacháin it is assumed that tithes would be paid to the church of Lann on a wide range of items, food-stuffs and animals, including 'a cow from every capture', 'a lump of iron from every smith' and 'tithes of sea and of wells'.[271] In the twelfth-century Vision of Mac Conglinne the poor expect tithes to be distributed to them by the monks of Cork on Sundays after Mass, while Mac Conglinne himself offers a tithe of his meagre food rations to the monks of Cork in order to highlight the niggardliness of their hospitality.[272]

It may also have been the case that it was not so much that tithes were not being paid as that they were not being distributed according to a division that allocated an acceptable proportion to the bishop. A fragment from a now-lost episcopal register of the diocese of Clogher, compiled in 1525 by Archdeacon Rory O Cassidy at the request of Bishop Patrick O Cuillean, refers to the *quartem episcopalem* ('episcopal quarter') in connection with Bishop Gilla Críst (Christianus) Ua Morgair, bishop of Airgialla (1135–38), brother of St Malachy. The compiler of the register claimed to have seen an account in a pontifical that subsequently perished in a fire in the church of Clogher, according to which Malachy had secured a papal confirmation from Pope Innocent II (1130–43) that the episcopal quarter from the whole of Airgialla should be paid to the bishop.[273]

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268 Above, p. 86, n. 259. In 1214 Pope Innocent III granted an indult to Henry of London, arch-bishop of Dublin, authorising him to compel the payment of tithes in the province of Dublin, because many, supported by lay power, were refusing to pay tithes on crops, animals, milling and their labours, or were not paying them to mother-churches but to whichever church they chose and in whatever amount they chose: Sheehy, *Pontificia*, i, no. 85.

269 Forbes, *Missale Drummondiense*, 90.

270 Best and Bergin, *Lebor na hUidre*, 73, lines 2175–8; M. Herbert and M. McNamara (eds), *Irish Biblical Apocrypha: Selected Texts in Translation* (Edinburgh, 1989, London, 1994 reprint), 144.

271 Meyer, *Betha Colmáin*, 50–53, 64–5.

272 K. Meyer (ed.), *Aislinge Meic Conglinne: The Vision of MacConglinne, a Middle-Irish Wonder Tale* (London, 1892), 22–5, 28–31; K. H. Jackson (ed.), *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne*, Dublin Insti-tute for Advanced Studies (Dublin, 1990), 8–9, 10–11. For the responsibility, according to the *Sermo ad Reges*, of a king to pay tithes, see below, p. 204.

273 K. W. Nicholls, 'The register of Clogher', *Clogher Record*, 7 (1971–2), 361–431 at 384–5. A pontifical, as already noted, generally signified a liturgical service book that contained the rites for specifically episcopal functions. An episcopal register would appear to have been a more likely source.

Papal confirmation of a quadripartite division of revenue in the diocese of Airgialla during Malachy's lifetime indicates an assertion of the bishop's right to such an allocation and a determination to secure it. In the pre-twelfth-century period there had been a wide variety of overlapping rules and opinions governing the distribution of tithes and the purposes for which they were to be used, and it is often difficult to determine what practice prevailed in any particular region or period.[274] However, with the spread of canon law and episcopal control of conciliar legislation, bishops were eventually able in most places to secure episcopal supervision over tithes and their right to at least a quarter of the tithes (and sometimes one-third) within their diocese; and, if the evidence from the now-lost register of Clogher may be relied upon, Malachy in his capacity as papal legate had secured a papal confirmation for the episcopal portion of tithes in the diocese of Airgialla. (Clogher/Louth).

Meagre as the evidence is for diocesan administration, there is a far greater dearth of documentary evidence at the level of local churches, and much inter-disciplinary work on parish formation within individual dioceses remains to be done, similar work, for example, to the analysis of the construction history of churches undertaken for the diocese of Kilfenora, created at the synod of Kells in 1152.[275] The majority of medieval church sites in Kilfenora dated from the early medieval period, but underwent extensive rebuilding or expansion over a relatively short period of time in the final quarter of the twelfth century and the first decades of the thirteenth century, a building surge that cannot adequately be explained as simply resulting from the introduction of new architectural styles to Ireland, and has been interpreted as evidence for parish development.

Finally, it is well to remember that administrative underdevelopment need not equate with pastoral indifference. Pending detailed studies diocese by diocese, the thrust of Gillebertus's pastorally vigorous treatise argues at the very least for an acute awareness of the need for ministration by the priest to the laity within the context of the parish unit. More generally, even if the sceptic would posit that the evidence for pastoral care is more apparent on the parchment of Gillebertus's treatise than in reality, there can be little doubt but that diocesan restructuring developed more gradually than a focus on primarily the synods of Ráith Bressail and Kells and the external stimulus of Canterbury would suggest. As persuasively argued by Colmán Etchingham, episcopal hierarchy 'evidently had a long

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274 G. Constable, *Monastic Tithes from their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1964), 19–56, 310–22. A tripartite division that allocated one part for the fabric of the church, one part for the priest and one part for the poor did not assign a specified portion to the bishop, and it may have been for a specified episcopal portion that Malachy was concerned to secure papal confirmation.

275 S. Ní Ghabhláin, 'The origin of medieval parishes in Gaelic Ireland: the evidence from Kilfenora', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 126 (1996), 37–61; eadem, 'Late twelfth-century church construction: evidence of parish formation?' in E. FitzPatrick and R. Gillespie (eds) *The Parish in Medieval and Early Modern Ireland: Community, Territory and Building* (Dublin, 2005), 147–67.

history of organic development. The twelfth-century reform did not create a dioc-esan system from scratch. This aspect of the reform is better viewed as a series of efforts to systematise an existing phenomenon.'[276] The same may yet prove to be true of parish formation. In any case, as Colin Morris has argued in relation to Continental reformers, 'the objective of the reformers was not pastoral efficiency in a modern sense',[277] but rather purification of the clergy by their separation from secular service and the enforcement of celibacy. It was in those areas that their endeavours were primarily directed and that the success of reforming measures was judged by contemporaries. For all the accusations that Gerald of Wales levelled against the Irish, clerical incontinence did not figure prominently. By Gerald's own account, at least one Irish bishop, Ailbe (Albinus) Ua Máel Muaid, bishop of Ferns, regarded this as an abuse prevalent among Anglo-Norman clergy that was contaminating the native Irish clergy, as evidenced by the sermon that Ailbe preached at the provincial synod of Dublin in 1186.[278]

The lack of detailed synodal legislation and of texts pertaining to a discourse of reform among Irish churchmen of the twelfth century, such as is intimated by Gillebertus's treatise, must remain a serious limitation in assessing the reformers' aims and progress. The reform movement has been presented as a top-down initiative in which reformers first sought to put hierarchical diocesan structures in place, but the implication of Gillebertus's treatise is that a concern to improve the morals and performance of secular clergy at the local level of the parish was equally important from the outset. The extant decrees of the synod of Cashel (1101), in relation to secular clergy and its reflexes of the 1095 synod of Clermont lends added support to such an interpretation.[279] On the Continent the reform movement had begun with a focus on the secular clergy, monastic reform and the elaboration of new monastic observances emerging during the second phase. Gillebertus's treatise therefore accords with that general pattern. How widely read it was in Ireland, and what its impact may have been, is impossible to judge, but it is worth stressing once again the chance nature of its survival in two manuscripts of English provenance. Without it, an assessment of reformist aims and episcopal leadership would be even more limited. Whatever its influence, the originality of Gillebertus's undertaking should not be underestimated. While it was intended in the first instance to inform secular clergy of their responsibilities, it thereby also dealt with pastoral ministry to the laity and, in the words of Colin Morris, even in the twelfth century 'the work of the local clergy received little support, or even notice, from the hierarchy'.[280]

276 Etchingham, 'Episcopal hierarchy in Connacht', 27.
277 Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, 101.
278 Below, p. 113.
279 Above, pp. 47–8.
280 Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, 289.

'A MIRROR AND MODEL':
EXEMPLARY BISHOPS AND EPISCOPAL CULTURE

In the absence of a substantial body of episcopal legislation, *acta* or treatises testifying to a discourse of reform, some insight into the conception of the exemplary way of life and pastoral responsibilities of a bishop, as formulated in an Irish reformist context, is afforded by hagiographical sources. Of these, Bernard of Clairvaux's Life of Malachy and the anonymous Life of Flannán are especially useful because their composition may be dated reasonably accurately. The Life of Flannán can be assigned to 1162×67, a date-range determined by an allusion to the recent (*noviter*) capture of Milan by Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, which occurred in 1162, and the account of a dispute between two Munster kings.[1] While it has been argued that the two major themes of this life are 'kingship and the rights and privileges of the church',[2] an even more persuasive case can be made for the portrayal of an exemplary bishop as its overriding concern. St Flannán was the patron of the church of Killaloe and of its appurtenant twelfth-century diocese, which was coterminous with the Dál Cais political heartland of the Ua Briain dynasty, whose kings were leading supporters of reformist change. The Life was redacted from earlier materials,[3] possibly by a member of the episcopal household, but at any rate by someone who described Flannán as his *patronus*, to whom he was attached by a vow of service.[4] The

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1 The text from the Salmanticensis collection is edited in Heist, *Vitae SS Hib.*, 280–301. The version in the Oxford collection (Rawl. B. 485 and Rawl. B. 505) was published by C. Plummer, 'Vita Sancti Flannani', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 46 (1928), 124–41. The Salmanticensis version is presumed to be based on the Oxford version by D. Ó Corráin, 'Foreign connections and domestic politics: Killaloe and the Uí Briain in twelfth-century hagiography' in D. Whitelock, R. McKitterick, and D. Dumville (eds), *Ireland in Early Medieval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes* (Cambridge, 1982), 213–31 at 224–5 (a sequence accepted by Gem, 'St Flannan's oratory', 91). The reverse is argued convincingly by R. Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives: An Introduction to* Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae (Oxford, 1992), 268–9, 394. For the allusion to the capture of Milan, see *Vita Flannani*, 286. For the dispute between kings, see below, pp. 179–80. The upper limit of 1167 is proposed by Ó Corráin to take account of the death of Toirdelbach Ua Briain, king of Thomond, in that year. For the view that the it may have been redacted to coincide with enshrinements of relics of Flannán, see below, p. 223.
2 Ó Corráin, 'Foreign connections', 226.
3 The hagiographer referred to a *liber gestorum*: *Vita Flannani*, 297; cf. the allusion to a *volumen gestorum* and a miracle of Flannán reciting the entire psalter standing in a frozen pool in the depths of winter, a conventional Irish hagiographical motif: ibid., 293.
4 *Indignus ego sum votoque servulus michi nobilem elegi patronum*: ibid., 281. The redactor

author stated his general purpose as providing a record for posterity and the enlightenment of foreign nations, a reflex of the hagiographer's likely connections with the *Schottenkongregation*.[5] Notwithstanding an anticipated Continental audience, however, it was undoubtedly also intended to promote appropriate models of behaviour for both the contemporary bishops of Killaloe and their Ua Briain royal patrons.[6]

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claimed that a long life had made him conversant with the miracles of many Irish saints and that it was particularly appropriate to rely on the intercession of saintly *comprovinciales*: ibid.

5   *In memoriam posteritatis tanquam lucernam exteris nationibus*: *Vita Flannani*, 281; cf. 297, where Flannán's fame spreads 'through foreign kingdoms (*per extera regna*)'. The Life is found along with Lives of other Irish saints circulating in southern Germany and Austria that made their way into the enormous collection of saints' lives known as the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*. For the view that the Salmanticensis Life was reworked in a *Schottenklöster*, probably Regensburg, by the author of Lives of Mochuille of Tulla and Marianus, founder of the *Schottenkloster* at Regensburg, see D. Ó Riain-Raedel, 'The travels of Irish manuscripts: from the continent to Ireland' in T. Barnard, D. Ó Cróinín, and K. Simms (eds), *'A Miracle of Learning': Studies in Manuscripts and Irish Learning: Essays in Honour of William O'Sullivan* (Aldershot, 1997), 56–7. Mochuille was associated with the church of Tulla (co. Clare) also known as Tulach na nEpscoc ('Tulla of the bishops'), which became a mensal parish of the bishop of Killaloe: A. Gwynn and D. F. Gleeson, *A History of the Diocese of Killaloe* (Dublin, 1962), 35, 323. For the Life of Mochuille, see K. Pertz (ed.), 'Ex vita Mochullei Hibernensis episcopi' in MGH, *Scriptores*, 20 (Hanover, 1868) 512–14; A. Poncelet, 'Vita S. Mochullei', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 17 (1898), 136–54, edited from the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*; fragment in Heist, *Vitae SS Hib.*, 410–13. Its redactor claimed as a young man *in diversis dulcis Galliae urbibus desiderio scientiae* to have personally witnessed a miracle that occurred during the capture of the castle of Bouillon by Albéron II, bishop of Liège. The siege of Bouillon took place in 1141 when the bishop recaptured the castle which in 1134 had fallen into the hands of Renaud I de Bar (1105–50). The castle had been ceded by Godfrey of Bouillon to the bishop in 1096 for the sum of 1300 marks of fine silver. The hagiographer's presence in the diocese of Liège around 1141 is noteworthy, as it was a recognised centre of intellectual and religious activity as a result of which substantial numbers of religious houses were either reformed or newly established. The bishops of Liège were loyal adherents of the emperor. In 1155 Frederick Barbarossa confirmed the castle of Bouillon to the bishop. There had been a colony of Irish scholars at Liège in the ninth century during the time of Sedulius Scottus, and Liège was a convenient stopping place for pilgrims from Ireland and Britain travelling to Rome through the Low Countries: J. Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland: An Introduction and Guide* (New York, 1929), 553–69, 601. The near contemporary anonymous *Triumphus Sancti Lamberti de Castro Bullonico* described how the relics of St Lambert, patron of the diocese of Tongre-Maastrict-Liège (with its episcopal see at Liège, a suffragan of the archbishops of Cologne) were deployed in the capture of the castle of Bouillon in 1141, and was written by someone close to the episcopal household. See the edition by W. Arndt in MGH, *Scriptores*, xx (Hanover, 1868), 497–511. On the church of Liège and its imperial connections, see J.-L. Kupper, *Liège et l'Église Impériale, XIᵉ–XIIᵉ Siècles* (Paris, 1981).

6   The substantial encomiastic material relating to the Ua Briain kings and circumstantial details about Munster in the Lives of Flannán and Mochuille emanated from Irish material. It is more problematic to determine how far the portrayal of Flannán might have been refashioned by a redactor writing on the Continent and with a Continental audience in mind. Yet, given that the Life was also intended for an Irish readership, it may legitimately be used as an index of contemporary reformist concerns. By contrast with the Lives of Flannán and Mochuille, the author of the Life of Marianus knew little about the Irish background of his subject, doubtless because he did not have an Irish exemplar to hand. For the Life of Marianus, see D. Ó Riain-Raedel, 'Cashel and

The earliest mention of a church at Killaloe dates from 991, when the death of an *airchinnech*, Scandlán, is recorded.[7] The earliest reference to Flannán as the patron of Killaloe is the death-notice in 1083 of Tadc Ua Taidc, *comarba* of Flannán.[8] There are eight death-notices of heads of Killaloe, variously styled *airchinnech* and *comarba*, between 991 and 1083. The term *ab* (abbot) occurs in 1027 in relation to Tadc son of Eochu in the Annals of Inisfallen, who, however, is accorded the title of *airchinnech* in parallel entries in the Annals of Ulster and the Annals of Loch Cé. Killaloe was closely associated with the Dál Cais dynasty.[9] Marcán son of Cennétig, whose death is recorded in 1010, was a pluralist office-holder, head (*comarba*) of the churches of Terryglass, Inis Celtra and Killaloe,[10] and brother of Brian Bóruma (*ob.* 1014), the successful challenger of the Uí Néill dynasty for the high-kingship. In 1061, when Killaloe was burnt by Áed Ua Conchobair, king of Connacht, 'God and Flannán laid hold of him'.[11] In 1116 Toirdelbach Ua Conchobair, king of Connacht, raided into Munster and destroyed the Ua Briain strongholds of Béal Bóroma and Kincora, killing many and taking numerous captives, 'but he gave up the captives to God and to St Flannán'.[12] These entries attest to the cult of Flannán as protector of the Dál Cais dynasty. By the twelfth century Killaloe occupied a role as a royal church not dissimilar to the *Reichskirchen*, or imperial churches, of Ottonian Germany. Royal palace and church complex were co-located at Killaloe.[13] It has been suggested that the oratory of St Flannán built around 1100 was a votive donation by Brian Bóruma's great-grandson, Muirchertach Ua Briain, that would have had been reciprocated with special prayers for the king and his family.[14] It is important to bear in mind that a close association between church and king was not incompatible with the promotion of reform ideology; indeed, it was essential to its advancement.[15]

Germany: the documentary evidence' in D. Bracken and D. Ó Riain-Raedel (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century: Reform and Renewal* (Dublin, 2006), 180, n. 15, 201–7.

7   *AI* 991.5.

8   *AI* 1083.2.

9   D. Ó Corráin, 'Dál Cais: church and dynasty', *Ériu*, 24 (1973), 52–63. Ó Corráin suggests that the hagiographer of *Vita Flannani* intended to portray Flannán as the son of the dynastic founder and eponym Toirdelbach Ua Briain, king of Munster (*ob.* 1086): Ó Corráin, 'Foreign connections and domestic politics: Killaloe and the Uí Briain in twelfth-century hagiography' in D. Whitelock, R. McKitterick, and D. Dumville (eds), *Ireland in Early Medieval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes* (Cambridge, 1982), 226–7. However, Flannán mac Toirdelbaig is listed among the *Óentu Maíle Ruain*: C. Haggart, 'Feidlimid mac Crimthainn and the *óentu Maíle Ruain*', *Studia Hibernica*, 33 (2004–5), 29–59 at 40 n. 32. This would place Flannán chronologically in the ninth century and would also explain the otherwise anachronistic reference in the *Vita Flannani* to King Fedelminus (Fedlimid mac Crimthainn, king of Munster, *ob.* 847): *Vita Flannani*, 295.

10   *AU²* 1010.2, *AI* 1010.2, *AFM*.

11   *AI* 1061.7; cf. *AFM* 1061.

12   *AT* 1116; cf. *AU²* 1116.2, *ALC* for the burning of Killaloe.

13   J. Bradley, 'Killaloe: a pre-Norman borough', *Peritia*, 8 (1994), 170–79.

14   Above, p. 25.

15   Cf. J. Howe, 'The nobility's reform of the medieval church', *American Historical Review*, 93

Although the Life contains conventional miracles that derived from earlier material formulated within the Irish hagiographical tradition, there are distinctive features in its portrayal of Flannán as a bishop that reflect a twelfth-century context. Thus, Flannán was elected and enthroned by the clergy and people but determined to go to Rome for papal confirmation.[16] On his return, Flannán publicly preached to the many who were anxious to hear the 'solid instructions' that he gave, and he treated them also to an account of the latest ceremonies (*nova instituta*) concerning the Mass and the sacraments, a justification for, and papal endorsement of, liturgical changes.[17] His sermon concluded with an address on the vainglory of the earthly world and the superiority of the eternal life which was so persuasive that many underwent a sincere personal conversion, especially cattle stealers.[18]

As bishop, Flannán is implicitly depicted living according to the reformist precepts of an apostolic life. The *vita apostolica* did not signify the apostolate in the sense of preaching the word of God, the role first assigned to the apostles when they were commissioned by Christ to teach and to baptise. The term referred rather to the internal life of the first Christian communities, to a mode of behaviour, not a function or office. What made an apostle, according to Abbot Rupert of Deutz's *De Vita Vera Apostolica* ('On the Truly Apostolic Life'), written in the early decades of the twelfth century, was not preaching or baptising but being virtuous and, in particular, living more humbly than anyone else.[19] Notwithstanding his royal parentage, Flannán lived in an ascetic manner: he did not wear silken garments, nor allow himself the enjoyment of dogs, the amusement of hunting or any other royal indulgence. His clothing was coarse and,

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(1988), 317–39; B. T. Hudson, 'Gaelic princes and Gregorian reform' in B. T. Hudson and V. Ziegler (eds), *Crossed Paths: Methodological Approaches to the Celtic Aspect of the European Middle Ages* (Lanham, NY, 1991), 61–82, reprinted in his *Irish Sea Studies*, *900–1200* (Dublin, 2006), 212–30.

16 *Vita Flannani*, 284–5. Journeys to Rome and episcopal consecration there at the hands of the pope feature in other saints' lives that were reworked following the confirmation of their foundations as episcopal sees during the twelfth century. Cf. the Lives of Tigernach of Clones, Laisrén of Leighlin, Colmán of Dromore, Mac Nisse of Connor, and Declán of Ardmore in Heist, *Vitae SS Hib.*, 108, 340–41, 359, 405; Plummer, *Vitae SS Hib.*, ii, 38–9; Life of Senán of Inis Cathaig in W. Stokes (ed.), *Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore*, Anecdota Oxoniensa (Oxford, 1890), 208.

17 *Vita Flannani*, 287.

18 Among miracles that Flannán is subsequently described as performing, two related to cattle-rustling: *Vita Flannani*, 293. In describing the punishment for thieves and robbers, Tnugdal's sin of theft is detailed as the stealing of a cow: *Visio Tnugdali*, *20–*21; *Vision of Tnugdal*, 123–4. The earliest peace council for which canons survive, that of Charroux in 989, condemned the theft of cattle and other livestock: K. G. Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy in the Eleventh Century: Spirituality and Social Change* (Manchester, 2005), 40–41. For awareness by the hagiographer of *Vita Flannani* of the Truce of God movement, see below, pp. 175–6.

19 M.-D. Chenu, *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West* (Toronto, 1997), 211.

when torn by briars or otherwise, he mended it himself.[20] There is an emphasis on the penitential value of manual labour: Flannán did not shirk physical work and was prepared to undertake such useful tasks as cutting wood and maintaining essential roads. He supplied his needs of food and drink from his own toil and, in consequence, was able to devote the revenues of his bishopric, and whatever other donations he received, to the support of pilgrims, strangers, the lame and the sick, including lepers, distributing alms with his own hands.[21] Fearful of a lack of humility on his part, Flannán besought God to humble him still more with some bodily disfigurement because of an anxiety that he was too much admired by the people. His prayer was answered when he was 'afflicted with Morphea, which is the sixth species of leprosy'.[22] Here, the hagiographer ostentatiously displayed his medical knowledge, doubtless acquired in a Continental school. However, when dignitaries of the church pointed out the impropriety of handling the eucharist while covered with sores, Flannán was restored to his former unblemished state as a result of prayer. This reflects the strong emphasis in reform rhetoric on fear of pollution in relation to contact with the sacraments.[23] Flannán's dying request was an appeal to his relatives not to claim the government of, or any interference within, his church under the pretext of royal prerogative or inheritance, another reformist reflex, and he hoped that his successor would be 'learned, chaste, charitable, humble, gentle'.[24] So indeed his successor proved to be: he was a man who, like Flannán, 'employed none of the revenues of the church for his own personal use' and so cared for the poor that he fed them from his own table.[25] This shows an understanding on the part of the hagiographer of the *vita apostolica* as *vita communis*.[26]

Flannán's successor developed such scruples about his suitability for episcopal office that he summoned the priests and people and, in their presence, resigned his office and could not be persuaded to remain as bishop.[27] Flannán himself had been elected bishop in consequence of the resignation of his predecessor, Molua. The account of Molua's resignation, delivered from an elevated position on his throne in the presence of King Theodericus (Toirdelbach) and the chief ecclesiastical and lay leaders, implies a formal ceremony.[28] This concern

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20 *Vita Flannani*, 292.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid., 297.

23 Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy*, 112–17.

24 *Vita Flannani*, 298. Cf. a similar emphasis on abbatial succession free from external interference in the Latin Lives of Máedóc of Ferns: Plummer, *Vitae SS Hib.*, ii, 154, 304; Heist, *Vitae SS Hib.*, 241. For the dating of these Lives, see C. Doherty, 'The transmission of the cult of St Máedhóg' in P. Ní Chatháin and M. Richter (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Texts and Transmission/Irland und Europa im Früheren Mittelalter: Texte und Überlieferung* (Dublin, 2002), 268–83.

25 *Vita Flannani*, 299.

26 See below, pp. 103–4.

27 *Vita Flannani*, 299.

28 Ibid., 284.

with episcopal resignation may be significant, given that a series of resignations by twelfth-century Irish bishops is recorded. In 1139 Bishop Gillebertus of Limerick resigned his papal legateship on grounds of age and infirmity to Malachy on the eve of the latter's departure for Rome.[29] Gillebertus died in 1145[30] and, since he had been bishop of Limerick from no later than 1107, he must by then have been of advanced age. The resignation of Mac Raith Ua Moráin, bishop of Conmaicne (Ardagh), and his replacement by Gilla Críst Ua hEóthaig is noted in the annals in 1166.[31] Gilla Críst Ua Connairche, abbot of Mellifont from 1142 and bishop of Lismore from 1151, resigned his see and papal legateship in 1179 and died in 1186.[32] Áed Ua Cáellaide, bishop of Louth from 1138, resigned his see in 1179 and died in 1182.[33] Gilla Críst and Áed appear to have taken the opportunity afforded by the arrival of the papal envoy, Peter of St Agatha, in Ireland to summon Irish bishops to the third Lateran council (1179) to offer their resignations.[34] Gilla na Náem Laignech, bishop of Glendalough, resigned his see around 1157 and died on 7 April 1161 as head of the *Schottenkloster* of Würzburg.[35] Máel Pátraic Ua Banáin, who succeeded Malachy as bishop of Connor after 1137 and whose death 'in choice old age' on

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29 *Vita Malachiae*, 344, lines 3–4; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 52.

30 Above, p. 54, n. 103. If Gillebertus was consecrated bishop around 1106, having reached the minimum canonical age of thirty years, he would have been born around 1076, and would have been at least seventy years of age when he died.

31 *AFM*. Mac Raith's death at eighty-three years of age is recorded in 1168: *AT*.

32 M. T. Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters: Texts and Contexts* (Oxford, 2005), 288.

33 M. T. Flanagan, 'Irish church reform in the twelfth century and Áed Ua Cáellaide, bishop of Louth: an Italian dimension' in M. Richter and J.-M. Picard (eds), *Ogma: Essays in Celtic Studies in Honour of Próinséas Ní Chatháin* (Dublin, 2002), 94–104 at 102.

34 W. Stubbs (ed.), *Gesta Henrici secundi Benedicti Abbatis*, 2 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1867), i, 209–210, 221; W. Stubbs (ed.), *Radulphi de Diceto Opera Historica*, 2 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1876), i, 429–30; W. Stubbs (ed.), *Chronica Rogeri de Houedone*, 4 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1868–71), ii, 167, 171.

35 *AFM* 1085, where his death-notice occurs among a series of misplaced entries that should more properly be assigned to 1160/61: *NHI*, ix, 313. The death of Nehemias, *ep[iscopu]s et mon[achus] Hybern[iae]*, is recorded on 7 April in the necrology of the Regensburg *Schottenklöster* and in a fragment from a calendar of the Benedictine monastery of Wessobrun (Bavaria) as *Nemias ep[is]c[opus] et mo[nachos] n[ost]re congr[egationis]*: D. Ó Riain-Raedel, 'Das Nekrolog der irischen Schottenklöster', *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bistums Regensburg*, 26 (1992), 7–119 at 63; eadem, 'Aspects of the promotion of Irish saints' cults in medieval Germany', *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, 39 (1982), 220–34 at 228; A. Dold, 'Wessobrunnerkalendarblätter irischen Ursprungs', *Archivalische Zeitschrift*, 58 (1962), 11–33 at 23. In light of the fact that the date, 7 April, and the place of death at Würzburg coincide, it is possible that the person commemorated in the Regensburg and Wessobrun necrologies as Nemias/Nehemias is Gilla na Náem Laignech rather than Nehemias, bishop of Cloyne. See D. Ó Riain-Raedel, 'Irish kings and bishops in the *memoria* of the German *Schottenklöster*' in P. Ní Chatháin and M. Richter (eds), *Irland und Europa: die Kirche im Frühmittelalter/Ireland and Europe: The Early Church* (Stuttgart, 1984), 390–403 at 393; below, p. 146. For Nehemias, bishop of Cloyne, see below, pp. 99–100. *Embricus ep[iscop]us Hyberniae*, commemorated on 17 November in the Regensburg necrology (Ó Riain-Raedel, 'Das Nekrolog', 76), is otherwise unknown, though *Hyberniae* may be an error for *Herbipolensis* (Würzburg).

the island of Iona is recorded in 1174, must have resigned his see no later than 1171/2 since a successor, Nehemias, is listed as having sworn fealty to King Henry II.[36] Such resignations are a measure of the importance attached to episcopal office as an active pastoral ministry and the need for bishops to be fit to carry out their duties. In including an account of the resignation of Flannán's saintly successor at Killaloe, who, however, was such a shadowy individual that the hagiographer was unable to name him, he may have sought to highlight that it was the duty of infirm or ageing bishops to resign their office. The implication throughout the Life is that a bishop had to be able to lead not only by his preaching but also by the personal example of his lifestyle.

That the public conduct of bishops was influenced by ascetic reformist emphases is suggested by Gerald of Wales's description of Gilla Meic Liac, archbishop of Armagh (*ob.* 1174), arriving in Dublin in 1171/2 to meet King Henry II and bringing with him a white cow on whose milk he lived, 'and the common people thought of him as a saint'.[37] This incidental aside is in marked contrast with the wonder-working and vengeful miracles attributed by Gerald to Irish saints in his *History and Topography of Ireland*.[38] Gilla Meic Liac's self-conscious demonstration of ascetic values may owe something to the *topos* of the humble saint travelling on foot or donkey rather than on horseback, a model that harked back to the Life of Martin of Tours in the *Dialogues* of Sulpicius Severus.[39] It suggests a concern to teach fundamental ideals by practical example. To Gerald of Wales is owed another incidental detail, a description of Felix, bishop of Ossory (*a.* 1180–1202), as 'a monk who was mutilated or, as it appeared, castrated'.[40] The inspiration for Felix's presumable self-castration was

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36 *AU, ALC, AFM* 1174; Stubbs, *Gesta*, i, 26.

37 *Expugnatio*, 100–101.

38 *Giraldi Opera*, i, 137; Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, transl. J. J. O'Meara (Harmondsworth, 1982), 91.

39 *Dialogues*, I, 21.4; in C. Halm (ed.), *Sulpicii Severi Libri qui Supersunt*, Corpus Christianorum Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum, 1 (Vienna, 1866), 173. Travel by horse was also eschewed by Aidan of Lindisfarne: Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, 14 in B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1969), 258–9. Cf. *Vita Flannani*, 290, where King Theodericus refused to enter Killaloe either on horseback or in a vehicle, but proceeded leaning only on his staff; below, p. 102, for Malachy's refusal to ride on horseback.

40 *Monachus erat mutilitatus, ut videbatur, et eunacatus*: *De rebus a se gestis*, II, xv, in *Giraldi Opera*, i, 72. Cf. the story in the *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*, 1185×90, of the priest who severed his *virilia* so as to avoid the temptation of a young girl: R. Easting (ed.), *St Patrick's Purgatory: Two Versions of Owayne Miles and the Vision of William of Stranton together with the Long Version of the Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*, Early English Text Society, 298 (Oxford, 1991), 154; J.-M. Picard and Y. de Pontfarcy, *Saint Patrick's Purgatory: A Twelfth-Century Tale of a Journey to the Otherworld* (Blackrock, co. Dublin, 1985), 77. Gerald recorded Felix's attendance at the provincial synod summoned by John Cumin, archbishop of Dublin in 1186, at which Gerald delivered a sermon critical of Irish clergy. When Archbishop Cumin asked Felix what he thought of Gerald's sermon, Felix is said to have replied that he could scarcely restrain from attacking him, or at least from retaliating verbally. For the synod, see above, pp. 81–2; below, pp. 112–13.

most probably Matthew, 19:12, in which Christ stated that there were 'eunuchs who had made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of heaven'; but it also presupposes a particular reading of theological sources.[41] It suggests an extreme ascetic emphasis on virginity that can be related to contemporary concerns about clerical celibacy. The choice by Máel Ísu (literally, 'servant of Jesus') Ua hAinmire, first bishop of Waterford (*ob.* 1135), of the Latin name Malchus may also betoken an emphasis on virginity, assuming that his intended namesake was the Syrian monk Malchus, whose Life, written by Jerome, emphasised the lengths to which Malchus was prepared to go in order to preserve his virginity. Jerome's Life of Malchus has been described as 'less of a biography than an essay on the ideal of chastity'.[42] In light of the fact that Máel Ísu was consecrated by Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury in 1096, it is worth noting that a versified life of the Syrian Malchus was written no later than 1106 by Reginald of Canterbury.[43] Máel Ísu, who had been trained as a Benedictine monk at Winchester, must have been an important exemplary episcopal figure. According to Bernard of Clairvaux he was famous not only for his way of life and his teaching but also for miracles (*signa*), of which Bernard gave two examples: Máel Ísu cured a young boy (who thereafter served as a door-keeper in Máel Ísu's household until he reached manhood) of a mental condition when confirming him with holy oil, and to a deaf person he restored hearing; and Máel Ísu 'gained so great a name that Scots and Irish met with him and he was treated as father by both'.[44] The otherwise unrecorded virtues of Nehemias, bishop of Cloyne (*ob.* 1149), were sufficiently outstanding that he was included alongside St Patrick, Archbishop Cellach (Celestinus) of Armagh, Malachy and the latter's brother, Gilla Críst (Christianus), in the Vision of Tnugdal. The author of the Vision claimed that Nehemias was 'distinguished for his wisdom, his birth, and his holiness' and was still in his episcopal chair when he died at ninety-five years of age.[45] There is a passing reference to Nehemias in Bernard's Life of Malachy

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41 The most notable case of self-castration was that of Origen of Alexandria (*ob.* AD 254) which was commented on with approval by Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, VI, 8 in K. Lake (ed.), *Eusebius: Ecclesiastical History*, 2 vols, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1926–32), ii, 29. Jerome in 'Against Jovinian' also remarked on the same biblical passage from Matthew as did Eusebius: 'For there are eunuchs which were so born from their mother's womb; and there are eunuchs which were made eunuchs by men; and there are eunuchs, which made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake': W. H. Freemantle (transl.), *Principal Works of St Jerome*, Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Series 2, 6 (Oxford, 1893), 355.

42 C. White (transl.), *Early Christian Lives* (London, 1998), 119.

43 See A. G. Rigg, 'Canterbury, Reginald of' in *ODNB*, ix (2004), 950.

44 *Vita Malachiae*, 317, line 14; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 24. It is not certain whether *Scotti* should be interpreted here as more than a synonym for Irish, since Bernard's usage of terms *Scotti* and *Scotia* in the Life of Malachy is not consistent; he refers, for example, to Ireland as *ulterior Scotia: Vita Malachiae*, 376, line 8.

45 *Visio Tnugdali*, *55–*6; *Vision of Tnugdal*, 155. The mention in the prologue that the author would say something about the life and miracles of Nehemias may imply that he intended to write a separate life of Nehemias: *Visio Tnugdali*, *3; *Vision of Tnugdal*, 110. If, as is possible, Nehemias had been trained as a monk in a *Schottenkloster*, it would more readily account for his

which depicts him entreating Malachy to perform a miracle while on a visit to Cloyne.[46] These externally preserved sources contain valuable incidental details about episcopal careers that are otherwise little known from Irish sources. The sole reference to Nehemias of Cloyne in a source of Irish provenance is a death-notice in 1149 under the name of Gilla na Náem Ua Muirchertaig, where he is described as 'a chaste, wise, and pious senior'.[47] In the Old Testament, Nehemias was a reformer who was responsible for rebuilding and rededicating the temple and walls of Jerusalem, making provision for the maintenance of the priests and Levites, and for the proper and constant celebration of divine worship and the observance of the Sabbath: that reformist connotation may have determined the choice of the Latin name Nehemias as an equivalent of Gilla na Náem (literally, 'servant of the saints').

Máel Ísu Ua hAinmire of Waterford/Lismore, Gilla Meic Liac of Armagh, Felix of Ossory and almost certainly also Nehemias of Cloyne were monks who became bishops. A monk who assumed episcopal office was expected to continue to live as a monk in all but matters specific to his episcopal office. Noteworthy, however, in the Life of Flannán is the concern of the hagiographer to avoid the use of monastic terminology.[48] In relation to Flannán's training, his spiritual father is described neutrally as a *senior*,[49] it takes place within a community of *fratres* within the *civitas* of Killaloe, and Flannán succeeds Molua as *senior locum regiminis*.[50] The hagiographer has deliberately sought to avoid a monastic element in Flannán's training or career. In that context it is worth recalling the emphatic statement of Bishop Gillebertus that it was not the duty of monks to engage in pastoral activity.[51]

All too little is known of the inspirational models for twelfth-century Irish

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appearance in the Vision of Tnugdal among the saintly Irish bishops who were to be found in heaven. Cf. above, p. 97, n. 35.

46 *Vita Malachiae*, 352; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 62.

47 *AFM*.

48 Contrast with the portrayal in the Life of St Cellach of Killala, produced by a Clonmacnois-orientated author and to which a date 1130×1230 has been assigned, whose episcopacy is marked by continuing adherence to the monastic life first at Clonmacnois and subsequently on an island hermitage, rather than any active engagement in pastoral responsibilities: 'Then came the clergy of his territory and elected him to a bishopric: episcopal orders were laid on him, and for a bishop's see he had Killala. This greater bishopric of his henceforth he administered indeed, but for the most part was in Clonmacnoise rather than in his diocese': 'Life of S. Cellach of Killala' in S. H. O'Grady (ed.), *Silva Gadelica*, 2 vols (London, 1892), 49–65 at 52–5 (Irish text); 50–69 at 54–5 (English translation); K. Mulchrone (ed.), *Caithréim Cellaig* (Dublin, 1971), 6–7. For discussion of the date and context, see M. Herbert, 'On *Caithréim Cellaig*: some literary and historical associations', *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, 49–50 (1997), 320–32 at 329–30.

49 The Irish equivalent *senóir* did not necessarily have monastic connotations. See examples detailed in the index in *AI*, 576.

50 *Vita Flannani*, 282, 284. There is a similar concern in Bernard of Clairvaux's Life of Malachy to maintain a separation between monastic and episcopal roles: below, pp. 105–6.

51 Above, p. 81.

bishops. Máire Herbert has highlighted the way in which the monk-bishop St Martin of Tours, whose cult is attested in the Irish church no later than the seventh century – and may indeed date to the sixth century, if Columbanus's pilgrimage to Tours reported by his biographer, Jonas of Bobbio,[52] reflected a devotion derived from his early monastic formation in Ireland – had been appropriated more in his monastic than his episcopal persona by the Irish church. Yet a shift to Martin's role as a pastoral bishop can be discerned in a vernacular homily on him that may be dated to the first half of the twelfth century and almost certainly derived from a homiletic collection compiled at the church of Armagh.[53] The author of the homily closely followed Sulpicius Severus's late-fourth-century Latin Life of Martin, to which he made very little alteration or personal contribution. Martin is portrayed as the epitome of monastic virtues in his denial of worldliness, his humility and his asceticism. Although, in contrast with the Life of Flannán, the monastic elements of Martin's career are maintained, albeit these can also be interpreted as attributes of the *vita apostolica*, due emphasis is accorded to the pastoral dimension. Martin's use of miraculous powers is deployed beyond monastic confines for the benefit of the wider church and community.[54] In recounting Martin's miraculous deeds and signs of divine affirmation the homilist made a selection of miracles from Sulpicius's material, choosing incidents which had a directly beneficial import over miracles that evoked only wonder. In that way he managed to convey a saint whose wonder-working was primarily concerned with human welfare, both spiritual and temporal. Martin is an ideal bishop whose ministry eschews the trappings of authority, worldly privilege and enslavement to wealth in favour of humility and asceticism.

This model of a saintly bishop receives its most detailed treatment in the portrayal of Malachy by Bernard of Clairvaux. Bernard had first-hand acquaintance with Malachy from their meetings during 1139–40 and in 1148, and he mentioned that Malachy had himself told him something about his own religious formation.[55] Already in the sermon that Bernard preached on the occasion of Malachy's death on 2 November 1148, Bernard alluded to the 'tyrannical race who possessed the sanctuary of God by heredity',[56] information about the Clann

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52 Jonas, *Vita Columbani*, I, 42 in I. Biffi and A. Granata (eds), *Gionna de Bobbio: Vita di Colombano e dei Suoi Discepoli* (Milan, 2001), 106–9; see also M. Richter, *Ireland and her Neighbours in the Seventh Century* (Dublin, 1999), 225–31.

53 M. Herbert, 'The life of Martin of Tours: a view from twelfth-century Ireland' in M. Richter and J.-M. Picard (eds), *Ogma: Essays in Celtic Studies in Honour of Próinséas Ní Chatháin* (Dublin, 2002), 76–84. For the homiletic collection, see above, pp. 16–17.

54 For evidence of lay devotion to Martin, see below, p. 229. In the early twelfth-century Life of Colmán of Lann his generosity is compared with that of St Martin: K. Meyer, *Betha Colmáin maic Lúacháin: Life of Colmán son of Lúachan, Edited from a Manuscript in the Library of Rennes with Translation, Introduction, Notes, and Indices*, Todd Lecture Series, 17 (Dublin, 1911), 60–61.

55 *Vita Malachiae*, 311, line 3 (*ut postea referebat*); *St Malachy the Irishman*, 16.

56 *Tyrannica progenies ... reditate possidens sanctuarium Dei: Sancti Bernardi Opera*, v, 421; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 102.

Sínaich monopoly of offices at Armagh that he must have derived from Malachy. Nonetheless, Bernard's personal meetings with Malachy would have been an insufficient basis for his Life of Malachy and, as Bernard also explicitly stated, he drew on information supplied by Irish informants, a substantial portion of which had to have been transmitted in written form, as evidenced by the localised historical and onomastic details.[57] The mould in which Malachy is cast exhibits Martinian elements. Bernard, of course, was only too familiar with the Martinian model, as demonstrated, for example, in his sermon for the feast of St Martin,[58] and he might have drawn on that model even without any prompting by material transmitted to him from Ireland. The miracles of exorcism and demonic encounters and of healing, including cures of dumbness and paralysis, attributed to Malachy,[59] which are otherwise not prominent in Irish hagiography,[60] are reminiscent of those of Sulpicius's Martin. There is an emphasis on Malachy's way of life as a 'mirror and a model (*speculum et exemplum*)'; Bernard also imbued Malachy, 'a truly apostolic man (*vere vir apostolicus*)', with the apostolic virtues of unpretentious simplicity.[61]As bishop of Connor, Malachy did not travel on horseback but walked on foot, 'proving himself an apostolic man'.[62] He continued to do so even after his appointment as papal legate: he and his companions went on foot according to the 'apostolic model (*forma apostolica*)'.[63] Malachy's humility is thus an important attribute of his *vita apostolica*. When he visited Waldef, prior of Kirkham, in 1139, the latter gave Malachy a horse, with the implication that he had none before that. It was a pack horse and therefore difficult to ride but, after a while, by a marvellous change, the horse became as comfortable as a palfrey, or riding horse, and gave faithful service for nine years until Malachy's death.[64] In the unidentified monastery of *Ibracense*, founded by Malachy in Munster, the saint also showed his humility and the value of manual labour by taking on the role of cook and serving the brethren as they sat at table.[65] This, too, is an affirmation of the *vita apostolica* as *vita communis*.

Máire Herbert has suggested that Bernard's Irish-derived materials had

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57 *Vita Malachiae*, 309, lines 9–11; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 13. In describing a miracle of healing Bernard remarked that he had omitted the location at which it occurred because it had a barbarous sound *sicut et alia multa*: *Vita Malachiae*, 351, lines 23–4; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 61.

58 *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, v, 399–412.

59 Of over approximately fifty miraculous events, at least twenty-three are healings, twelve prophecies.

60 Cf. C. Stancliffe, 'The miracle stories in seventh-century Irish saints' lives' in J. Fontaine and J. N. Hillgarth (eds), *Le Septième Siècle: Changements et Continuités/The Seventh Century: Change and Continuity* (London, 1992), 87–115.

61 *Vita Malachiae*, 307, line 3, 370, line 8, *St Malachy the Irishman*, 11, 84.

62 *Vita Malachiae*, 326, lines 8–9; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 34; cf. *Vita Malachiae*, 350, line 7; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 59.

63 *Vita Malachiae*, 349, lines 14–17; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 58.

64 *Vita Malachiae*, 342; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 51.

65 *Vita Malachiae*, 328; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 36.

already been stylised in accordance with a model of sanctity that derived from Martin's Life and, further, that they bear witness to a complex interaction between the exemplary life of Martin, the lived experience of Malachy, who was familiar with Martin's Life, and the way in which that lived experience was, in turn, recalled in hagiographical form. Sulpicius Severus's Life of Martin, a copy of which was contained in the early-ninth-century Book of Armagh and had already influenced seventh-century hagiographical writing on Patrick, was a particularly apposite model for the twelfth-century clergy of Armagh to re-invoke. First Cellach, then Malachy, and then Gilla Meic Liac were each drawn from a monastic milieu to become bishops. At Armagh the concern to promote a renewal of ecclesiastical life that validated change while benefiting from the sanction of antiquity would have been even more critical than in the case, for example, of the more local and less ancient church of Killaloe and the portrayal of its saint, Flannán.

Bernard described Malachy as although 'himself poor, yet he was rich to the poor'.[66] In similar vein, the Vision of Tnugdal described Malachy as distributing everything he had to the religious communities that he had founded, retaining nothing for himself, and Malachy's brother, Gilla Críst (Christianus), bishop of Louth, as a 'lover of voluntary poverty'.[67] While all saints' Lives conventionally emphasised care and compassion for the poor, the poor were especially prominent in the Lives of Flannán, Malachy and, later, Lorcán Ua Tuathail, archbishop of Dublin (*ob.* 1180), who cared for the poor during a time of famine.[68] A personal identification with the sufferings of the poor was characteristic of ascetic reformers and an exemplary mode of pastoral care. Malachy eagerly helped in burying the dead because it was not only a humble but a humanitarian task.[69] There was a more urgent sense of personal obligation attached to charitable activities that differed from more traditional monastic charity. The predominance of cures among the miracles of twelfth-century saints also reflects a growing attention on the care of the sick.

The duty of living the apostolic life belonged in the first instance to monks, but the reformist apostolic life movement had begun to have an impact on non-monastic clergy on the Continent by the mid eleventh century. The *vita apostolica* was to be demonstrably lived by such clergy through the abandonment

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66 *Pauper sibi, sed dives pauperibus erat*: sermon on the anniversary of Malachy's death in *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, vi/I, 51; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 108.

67 *Et nihil omnino sibi retinebat*: *Visio Tnugdali*, *55; *Vision of Tnugdal*, 155. *Voluntarie pauperitatis amatorum*: ibid.

68 C. Plummer, 'Vie et miracles de St Laurent, archevêque de Dublin', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 33 (1914), 121–85 at 147.

69 *Vita Malachiae*, 314–15; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 21. He did so while still in diaconal orders. Burial of the dead was associated specifically with this ecclesiastical grade, which may make the historicity of this detail problematic: R. E. Reynolds, 'The *de officiis VII gradum*: its origins and early medieval development', *Mediaeval Studies*, 34 (1972), 113–51 at 142; reprinted in his *Clerical Orders*, II.

of private goods in favour of the common life. At the Lateran council in Rome in 1059 Pope Nicholas II had advocated 'the apostolic life, which is the common life', following the example of the primitive church.[70] The same policy was strenuously advocated by Peter Damian in his tract *Contra Clericos Regulares Proprietarios* ('Against Property-Owning Regular Clerics').[71] For Peter Damian the *vita communis* was the remedy for clerical decadence. Voluntary poverty, based on a total abnegation of private property, and fraternity was its spiritual and economic basis. Its most obvious objective was the restoration of the common life as the safeguard against the corruption of the secular clergy. Throughout Europe there were large numbers of churches served by secular canons, ranging from cathedrals to collegiate foundations, to baptismal churches and castle chapels, at which the reformers endeavoured to introduce the *vita communis*.

In an Irish context, efforts to promote the *vita communis* are most evident in relation to bishops and their households. The Irish Canon Collection, 716×25, had assumed that the bishop would treat the 'substance of his church (*res ecclesiae*)' as a trust and not dispose of any of its possessions by gift, sale or deposit 'without the assent of his clergy (*absque subscriptione clericorum suorum*)'.[72] In the twelfth-century Irish homily on St Martin it is stated that in the monastery which Martin established as bishop 'none of the monks had anything of his own: none of them was free to buy or sell anything' and 'they ate their dinner together': a clear emphasis on the *vita communis*.[73] In the sermon preached at Malachy's requiem, Bernard referred to the fact that Malachy 'had lived in the religious communities (*congregationibus religiosis*) which he had himself founded, without ecclesiastical or worldly benefices', that he dwelt 'among them as one of them without any goods of his own'.[74] As a bishop, Malachy had shared the 'holy poverty' of the monks.[75] At Connor his spouse and friend was lady poverty.[76] Malachy 'edified by example'.[77] 'He lived with nothing of his own. He had no man-servants, no maid-servants, no villages, no hamlets, not even any sort of revenue, either ecclesiastical or secular, even when he was a bishop. Nothing was appropriated or assigned to his episcopal upkeep from which he might live as a bishop. He did not even have a house of his own';[78] he was content with the 'common life and table'.[79] The reformist under-

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70 *Apostolicam scilicet communem vitam*: Lateran Council, canon 4 in MGH, Legum Sectio IV, *Constitutiones et Acta Publica*, i (Hanover, 1893), no. 384, 587.

71 Text in Migne, *PL*, cxlv, 479–90.

72 *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*, I, 21 in H. Wasserschleben (ed.), *Die Irische Kanonensammlung*, revised edn (Leipzig, 1885), 11.

73 W. Stokes (ed.), 'A middle-Irish homily on S. Martin of Tours', *Revue Celtique*, 2 (1873–7), 381–402 at 392–3.

74 *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, v, 421; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 102.

75 *Vita Malachiae*, 328, lines 15–17; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 36.

76 *Vita Malachiae*, 331, line 20; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 39.

77 *Vita Malachiae*, 335, line 14; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 43.

78 *Vita Malachiae*, 348–9; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 57.

79 *Vita communis et mensa*: *Vita Malachiae*, 349, lines 10–11; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 58.

standing of poverty was not between having or not having, but between something that was one's own (*proprius*) and something that was voluntarily shared (*communis*). Echtigern mac Maíl Chiaráin (Eugenius), bishop of Clonard (*ante* 1177–91), in a charter issued in favour of the canons of Llanthony Prima, having heard of their religious life and honesty, emphasised voluntary sharing in his definition of *viri religiosi* as those who shared the same lot and whose inheritance was non-paternal.[80] A regimen of poverty was expressly commanded by Christ as part of the apostolic mission. Poverty, therefore, was a call to return to the values of the primitive church.

The most accomplished delineation of a twelfth-century Irish bishop remains Bernard of Clairvaux's Life of Malachy. The difficulty is that it reflects Bernard's own conception of episcopal office as much as it does the Irish material that was supplied to him and on which he undoubtedly drew, and which may already have been stylised hagiographically along Martinian models. There is no doubt that Bernard had strongly held and long-standing views on episcopal office and its reformist role, as reflected in his writings and notably in his treatise *De Moribus et Officio Episcoporum* ('On the Conduct and Office of Bishops'), addressed to Henry, archbishop of Sens, *ca* 1127.[81] Bernard himself intervened in, or influenced, at least fourteen episcopal elections.[82] He had very clear notions of the distinction between the active life of a bishop and the contemplative life of a monk. He did not try to synthesise the two, to create an explicitly 'mixed life' or 'middle way'; rather, the two remained always in tension in his writings, as indeed did the active and contemplative in Bernard's own life: Bernard notably described himself as the chimaera of his time, a monstrous figure who had long since stripped off the way of life, though not the habit, of the monk because of his activities beyond the cloister.[83] Bernard recognised a similar tension in Malachy's case. In the sermon he preached on the first anniversary of Malachy's death, Bernard stated that the time Malachy had wished to dedicate to ease or leisure (in its monastic sense), he spent without ease: that is, he was obliged to be engaged in activities that left him insufficient time for contemplation.[84] Bernard endeavoured to retain a separation between the monastic and episcopal elements of Malachy's career in his Life of Malachy. Although he described how Malachy received his spiritual training in a monastic milieu, once Malachy became a bishop Bernard elided the fact that he may have retained the

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80 *Viris religiosis quibus inter fratres sors et hereditas non paterna*: E. St John Brooks (ed.), *The Irish Cartularies of Llanthony Prima and Secunda*, Irish Manuscripts Commission (Dublin, 1953), 48. He used a similar formula in another charter: *viris ecclesiasticis quibus inter fratres sors et hereditas non est paterna*: ibid., 31.

81 P. Matarasso (transl.), *Bernard of Clairvaux: On Baptism and the Office of Bishops*, Cistercian Fathers, 67 (Kalamazoo, 2004), 37–82.

82 Ibid., 17–18.

83 *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, viii, 147, line 2; B. Scott James (transl.), *The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux* (London, 1953), 402.

84 *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, vi/I, 53; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 110.

role of abbot. Bernard did acknowledge that, following Malachy's consecration as bishop of Connor in 1124, he continued to reside in the monastery that he had founded at Bangor; but, although Bernard did not say so, it may be inferred that after Malachy resigned the see of Armagh to become bishop of Down in 1136 he resided at Bangor and not Down, the designated episcopal see for the diocese of Ulaid in accordance with the synod of Ráith Bressail.[85] Bernard did incidentally reveal how, on Malachy's return from Rome in 1140, he went first to the monastery of Bangor 'so that his first sons might receive the first grace', and 'they received their father safe after such a long journey'.[86]

It is precisely because his main thrust was to portray Malachy as an ideal bishop through the personal example of the holiness of his life and the miracles that he performed that Bernard did not devote much coverage to Malachy's role in introducing the Cistercian observance to the Irish church.[87] Even Malachy's active pastorate is described in general terms. Before his election as bishop he uprooted evil 'with the hoe of his tongue'.[88] As bishop of Connor he preached not only in his cathedral church but in the highways and byways, in the countryside and in small settlements; churches were rebuilt and clergy ordained to them; discipline was restored, including the practice of penance, while concubinage was replaced with the dignity of marriage.[89] During an outbreak of pestilence in the city of Armagh Malachy, as bishop, led the people and clergy out beyond the boundaries of the city with relics of the saints, resulting in an abatement of the disease.[90] As bishop of Down he 'arranged and judged on episcopal matters with complete authority like one of the apostles'.[91] Returning to Ireland in 1140 as papal legate, 'various assemblies were held in various places so that no region, nor part of a region, should be deprived of the fruit and benefit of his legation'; Malachy 'rushed about everywhere with the sword of his tongue unsheathed'.[92] In the many councils that he held not only were older traditions revived that had been allowed to lapse because of the negligence of the priests but new ones were hammered out and 'committed to writing as a reminder to posterity'.[93] Malachy travelled pastorally not only in the north of Ireland, but also in Munster and

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85 For hereditarily entrenched families who would have caused difficulties for Malachy at Down, see M. T. Flanagan, 'John de Courcy, the first Ulster plantation and Irish church men' in B. Smith (ed.), *Britain and Ireland 900–1300: Insular Responses to Medieval European Change* (Cambridge, 1999), 154–78 at 160–61.

86 *Vita Malachiae*, 324, 338–9, 347; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 33, 47, 56.

87 Below, p. 120.

88 *Vita Malachiae*, 315, lines 11–13; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 22.

89 *Vita Malachiae*, 326; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 34–5.

90 *Vita Malachiae*, 337; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 46. Cf. the partial description in the Second Vision of Adomnán *ca* 1096 of a liturgy to fend off disasters, comprising the recitation of psalms, the Magnificat and hymns: W. Stokes, 'Adamnan's second vision', *Revue Celtique*, 12 (1891), 420–42 at 432–3; for this text, see further below, pp. 239–40.

91 *Vita Malachiae*, 340; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 48.

92 *Vita Malachiae*, 348; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 56.

93 *Vita Malachiae*, 348; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 57.

Leinster. He resolved a disputed episcopal election at Cork by appointing his own nominee, presumably in his capacity as papal legate.[94] Especially interesting is Bernard's account of a cleric at Lismore who denied the Real Presence of Christ in the eucharist. Malachy at first privately attempted to persuade him to change his views; he was then summoned into an assembly of clergy (*in conventu clericorum*), but left claiming that 'he was not conquered by reasoning, but crushed by the weight of episcopal authority'.[95] Malachy went on to convoke a meeting of clergy and publicly pronounced anathema on him, declaring him to be a heretic. A feature of the mid twelfth century was the emergence of what has been termed 'academic heresy', which can be linked to the new kinds of schools, or proto-universities, in which issues of academic freedom were beginning to arise.[96] It can only be regretted that the acts of Malachy's councils have not otherwise survived. They may have been better known to Máel Muire Ua Gormáin, abbot of Knock, who described Malachy as *sui senad* ('sage of synods') in the metrical martyrology that he composed 1167×74.[97]

Also singled out by Bernard is Malachy's role as a negotiator of peace concords and truces, including an occasion on which a king took captive a noble in breach of a negotiated agreement, whereupon Malachy rebuked him and stated that he and his clerical retinue would fast until the captive was released.[98] While it is not always certain that what Bernard wrote reflected Malachy's habitual conduct without Bernard's added explication, in this instance Bernard must have drawn on material provided for him by Irish informants, since this is a description of the well-attested Irish practice of *troscud*, or fasting against a person of high rank, in order to pressure them into conceding a just demand.[99] A person who held out against a justified and properly conducted fast risked loss of status and reputation. Examples of such fasts are recorded in contemporary annals: in 1043 the beheading perpetrated by Muirchertach Ua Máel Sechlainn, king of Mide, of Áed Ua Con Fiacla, *airrí* of Tethba, was attributed to the fact that the monastic community of Clonmacnois had fasted against Áed at Tulach Garba and had rung the *Bernán Chiaráin* ('Gapped bell of Ciaráin'), suspended through the *Bachall Ísu* ('Staff of Jesus'), the pastoral staff of the head of the church of Armagh, thereby signifying the support of Armagh clergy for the action of the Clonmacnois community; and Áed 'was beheaded in the very place where he had turned his back on the clergy'.[100] In 1108 the Clonmacnois community fasted

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94 *Vita Malachiae*, 355–6; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 65–6.
95 *Vita Malachiae*, 360–61; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 71; below, p. 169. For the controversy on the Real Presence in the eucharist initiated by Berengarius of Tours and Lanfranc's response, see M. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford, 1978), 63–97; H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk, and Archbishop* (Oxford, 2003), 59–74.
96 G. R. Evans, *Bernard of Clairvaux* (Oxford, 2000), 17.
97 *Félire Húi Gormáin*, 210–11.
98 *Vita Malachiae*, 363–4; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 75–6; below, pp. 174–5.
99 F. Kelly, *Guide to Early Irish Law*, Early Irish Law Series, 3 (Dublin, 1988), 182–3.
100 *CS* 1041=1043, *AT*, *AFM*.

against Ua Máel Sechlainn, king of Mide, in order to secure the freedom of the church of Cell Mór; and God's response was evidenced, in the view of the annalist, when Mide was subjected to plundering.[101] In the same year the sudden death of one Fer Coctha was attributed to the fact that the clergy of Inis Cathaig had fasted against him throughout the previous week.[102]

Although very little of Malachy's activities as papal legate can be recovered from Irish sources, we need not doubt his energy and commitment to the office. Bernard recounted that, during Malachy's stay in Rome, Pope Innocent II had questioned him on many occasions about his country, its people and the condition of the churches.[103] Malachy must have returned to Ireland with an up-to-date reform agenda. Innocent had not acceded to Malachy's request for archiepiscopal pallia, but had urged him to assemble a synod of the Irish church so that a formal and unanimous petition could be made. This resulted in Malachy's convening of the synod of Inis Pátraic in 1148, a key aim of which was to ensure acknowledgement by the see of Dublin of the primacy of Armagh.[104] Its achievement is an important testimony to Malachy's skills as a negotiator.

Malachy was fortunate to have secured such an eminent author as Bernard of Clairvaux as his biographer. Unfortunately, the careers of the vast majority of twelfth-century Irish bishops remain wholly unknown for want of evidence. However, some indication of the episcopal priorities of Malachy's fellow bishops may be afforded by the Latinised names, mostly biblical, that they chose as equivalents of their Irish forenames. No doubt, some were chosen merely for their aural similarity. Bishop Cellach of Armagh is attested under the Latinised forms of Celsus[105] and Celestinus,[106] Cináed Ua Ronáin, bishop of Glendalough, under both Clemens and Celestinus.[107] The name Celestinus invoked papal associations, especially as it was well known that the missionary Palladius had been

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101 *AT, CS* 1104=1108. For the identification of Cell Mór i Muig in Fhir, see D. Ó Murchadha, *The Annals of Tigernach: Index of Names*, Irish Texts Society, Subsidiary Series, 6 (London, 1997), 116.

102 *AI* 1108.4.

103 *Vita Malachiae*, 344; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 52.

104 For this synod, see M. Holland, 'The twelfth-century reform and Inis Pátraic' in A. MacShamhráin (ed.), *The Island of St Patrick: Church and Ruling Dynasties in Fingal and Meath, 400–1148* (Dublin, 2004); H. Immenkötter, '*Ecclesia Hibernicana*: Die Synode von Inis Pádraig im Jahre 1148', *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum*, 17 (1985), 19–69.

105 *Vita Malachiae*, 328–32, 340; *Félire Húi Gormáin*, 70–71. Celsus is used in the Cistercian derived annals of Thomas Case: J. T. Gilbert (ed.), *Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin*, 2 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1884), ii, 254–255, 257. Charters of confirmation issued by Archbishops Gilla an Choimded Ua Caráin (1175–80), using the Latin name, Gillebertus, and Echdonn mac Gilla Uidir (1202–16), using Eugenius, referred to their predecessor, 'Kellach': ibid., i, 142, 147. Celsus was venerated as a boy martyr of the church of Milan, and his feast is recorded under 19 June in *Félire Húi Gormáin*, 118–19. The relics of another Celsus were discovered in the church of Trier in 978: T. Head, 'Art and Artifice in Ottonian Trier', *Gesta*, 36 (1997), 65–82.

106 *Visio Tnugdali*, *55; *Vision of Tnugdal*, 155.

107 Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters*, 272–3.

sent by Pope Celestine I in 431 'to the Irish believing in Christ', as recorded by Prosper of Aquitaine, and incorporated into the earliest Irish annals.[108] So too did the name of Clemens, the fourth pope, who was venerated as a saint on 23 November.[109] Pre-eminently the name of Gregorius, used by Gréne, bishop of Dublin (*ca* 1121–61), and a number of other bishops, had papal connotations. Pope Gregory I (590–604) was a revered figure in the early Irish church. Columbanus (*ob.* 615) had written to him[110] and Cummian, in his paschal letter, 632/3, had described Gregory as 'accepted by all of us and given the name "Golden Mouth" '.[111] Pope Gregory was the author of *De Cura Pastoralis*, a treatise on pastoral care which remained the key text on this subject throughout the medieval period and would have been essential reading for, in particular, bishops.[112] The name of Gregory more immediately recalled the reforming pope Gregory VII (1073–85), who revered the first Gregory as his model. Gregory VII addressed a letter to Toirdelbach Ua Briain, king of Munster, which may have enjoyed a wider circulation beyond the royal court.[113] The Latinised forenames of Felix, bishop of Lismore (*ca* 1179–1202), and Felix Ua Duib Sláine, bishop of Ossory (*a.* 1180–1202) may have been inspired by the fact that there were four early popes of that name.[114] More unusually, Eleutherius, almost certainly alluding to Pope Eleutherius (*a.* 1174–89), was the Latinised name chosen by Étrú Ua Miadacháin, bishop of Clonard (*a.* 1152–73).[115] While Irish bishops

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108 T. M. Charles-Edwards (ed.), *The Chronicle of Ireland*, 2 vols, Translated Texts for Historians, 44 (Liverpool, 2006), i, 63.

109 W. Stokes, *The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee: Félire Óengusso Céli Dé*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 29 (London, 1905; reprinted 1984), 236–7; *Félire Húi Gormáin*, 224–5. Clemens makes an appearance in the Life of Ailbe of Emly: Heist, *Vitae SS Hib.*, 121–2. In the list of comparisons of Irish and non-Irish saints Ciarán of Saigir is likened to *Clemens papa*: R. I. Best, O. Bergin, and M. A. O'Brien (eds), *The Book of Leinster Formerly Lebar na Núachongbála*, 6 vols, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (Dublin, 1956–83), vi, 1682, line 26. The twelfth-century reliquary known as *Breac Máedóic* contained a relic of Clement: below, p. 224.

110 G. S. M. Walker (ed.), *Sancti Columbani Opera*, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, 2 (Dublin, 1957), 2–13.

111 M. Walsh and D. Ó Cróinín (eds), *Cummian's Letter* De Controversia Paschali *and* De Ratione Conputandi (Toronto, 1988), 82–3. For Irish knowledge of Gregory's writings and Irish traditions relating to him, see L. M. Davies, 'The "mouth of gold": Gregorian texts in the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*'; in Ní Chatháin and Richter, *Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Texts and Transmission*, 249–67; J. Hennig, 'Ireland's contribution to the martyrological tradition of the popes', *Archivium Historiae Pontificiae*, 10 (1972), 9–23 at 21–3, reprinted in his *Medieval Ireland, Saints and Martyrologies: Selected Studies*; ed. M. Richter (Northampton, 1989). Cf. below, p. 203, for soil from Gregory's grave brought back from Rome by Irish pilgrims.

112 In the list of analogies between Irish and non-Irish saints, *Grigorius Moralium* is likened to Cumméne Fota: Best et al., *Book of Leinster*, vi, 1682, line 27. For a twelfth-century manuscript of Gregory's *Moralia in Job*, probably a product of the Armagh scriptorium, see above, p. 20, n. 100.

113 Above, p. 4, n. 16.

114 R. P. Davis (transl.), *The Book of Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis): The Ancient Biographies of the First Ninety Roman Bishops to AD 715* (Liverpool, 1989), 11, 29, 41, 51.

115 Bishop Étrú was recorded as present at the synod of Kells, 1152: *FFE*, iii, 316–17. He died in

could have had access to a version of the *Liber Pontificalis*, their knowledge of the pontificate of Eleutherius may equally have derived from Bede, who mentioned the pope in both his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* and his *Chronica Majora*.[116]

Some name choices may have had even more deliberately intended resonances. Malachy, whose Irish name was Máel Máedóc, literally 'Servant of Máedóc', a sixth-century saint associated with the church of Ferns (co. Wexford), chose the Latin Malachias, the name of the Old Testament prophet which in Hebrew meant 'messenger'. Malachy could have adopted Malchus, the Latin name chosen by his teacher at Lismore, Máel Ísu Ua hAinmire,[117] yet he opted for Malachias, doubtless to signify that he had a particular message to impart not dissimilar from the Old Testament prophet of that name, who had admonished priests who had been unfaithful in their ministry and announced that God would send a messenger to reform both priests and people. Bernard, in his sermon on the occasion of Malachy's burial, alluded to this in his quotation from the Book of Malachias (2:7), 'the holy lips of the priest which guarded knowledge', while in his Life of Malachy he included a reference to the 'spurning of his name' (Malachias, 1:6) when a messenger sent by Malachy was ignored.[118] The choice by Gilla Meic Liac, archbishop of Armagh (1137–74), of the Latin name Gelasius was surely also intended to convey a specific message.[119] The fifth-century Pope Gelasius (492–6) had sought to define more clearly separation of church and state. From him derived the Gelasian principle, the affirmation that God had provided two powers for the government of men, the royal and the priestly authority (*regnum* and *sacerdotium*). In choosing the Latin name

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1173: *AT* (where he is styled *airdespoc na Midhe*); *AU*, *AFM*. His Latinised forename is given by Roger of Howden: Stubbs, *Gesta*, i, 26; idem, *Chronica*, ii, 30.

116 Davis, *The Book of Pontiffs*, 6. The large numbers of surviving manuscripts attest to its popularity: idem, iii–iv. Bede is the first known author to cite material from the *Liber Pontificalis*. See his *Ecclesiastical History*, I, 4 in Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, 24–5, 562–3; F. Wallis (transl.), *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, Translated Texts for Historians, 29 (Liverpool, 1999), 203. Cf. *AT*, i, 52, line 8, where Bede's misunderstanding about a British king, Lucius, who sent a letter to Eleutherius, is repeated. On the Irish reception of Bede, see P. Ní Chatháin, 'Bede's Ecclesiastical History in Irish', *Peritia*, 3 (1984), 115–30, especially 124–5. Pope Eleutherius's feast on 25 May is included in *Félire Húi Gormáin*, 104–5, and in the martyrology of the Drummond missal: P. Ó Riain, *Four Irish Martyrologies: Drummond, Turin, Cashel, York*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 115 (London, 2003), 65.

117 Above, p. 99.

118 *Vita Malachiae*, 362, line 24; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 74. Cf. the sermon Bernard preached on the first anniversary of Malachy's death, where he described Malachy in the company of angels becoming in fact what he had been called by name: 'The meaning of his glorious name is more happily fulfilled in him now that he rejoiced in equal glory and happiness with the angels': *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, vi/I, 53; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 110.

119 Gilla Meic Liac is mentioned in the preface and commemorated on 27 March under the Latin version of his name in *Félire Húi Gormáin*, 4–5, 63–4. The latter also contains commemorations for Pope Gelasius under 4 February and 18 November: ibid., 31, 221. Cf. Stokes, *The Martyyology of Oengus*, 55.

Gelasius it may be assumed that Gilla Meic Liac intended both to highlight a direct link with the papacy in his role as primate of the Irish church and to recall Pope Gelasius' particular attribute of emphasising the independence of the church from secular interference. This would have been especially appropriate as head of the church of Armagh in light of the recent hard-won struggle to break the stranglehold of Clann Sínaich on church offices there.[120] Although it has been assumed that the name of Brictius, bishop of Limerick (1167–89), reflects a Hiberno-Norse origin, this overlooks a possible Martinian reflex. St Brictius was the successor of St Martin at Tours and his cult was disseminated in association with that of Martin. Brictius made a brief appearance in the vernacular Irish homily on St Martin, while his feastday on 13 November was included in the twelfth-century *Félire Uí Gormáin*.[121] Lorcán Ua Tuathail, archbishop of Dublin, styled himself Laurentius in the Latin charters that he issued, the early St Laurence being particularly associated with the church of Rome.[122]

Fragmentary though the evidence for individual episcopates is, there is little doubt that it testifies to a revitalisation of episcopal office; nor should the importance of synodal activity and collective action on the part of the bishops be underestimated. Synods had played a vital role in the pre-viking Irish church, although their use would appear to have gone into decline during the ninth and tenth centuries, possibly as a result of viking incursions.[123] It is therefore important to stress that there undoubtedly was a revival of synodal activity from the mid eleventh century onwards,[124] that it should be interpreted as a reformist impulse, and that it pre-dated the exhortation of Lanfranc to Toirdelbach Ua Briain, king of Munster and high-king (*ob.* 1086), that he should convene an assembly of bishops and men of religion and attend the 'holy assembly' in person with his chief advisers.[125] It ought to be borne in mind also that synods should be viewed not just as legislative gatherings but as religious and liturgical occasions

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120 The brief pontificate of Pope Gelasius II (24 January 1118–29 January 1119) may also have drawn attention to the career of the first Gelasius.

121 Stokes, 'A Middle-Irish homily', 400–401; *Félire Húi Gormáin*, 219. Brictius is not included in the ninth-century *Félire Oengusso*. The Latin Bricius was used for Máel Brigte Ua Maicín, first abbot of the Augustinian house of Ballintober (co. Mayo): W. Dugdale and R. Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum*; ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis, and B. Bandinel, new edn, 6 vols in 8 (London, 1817–30), vi/II, 1138; *AConn* 1225.34.

122 In order to emphasise a Roman link, the Book of the Angel *ca* 675 claimed that the church of Armagh possessed relics of Peter, Paul, Stephen and Laurence: L. Bieler, *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, 10 (Dublin, 1979), 186–7. *Laurentius diaconus* occurs in the comparative list of non-Irish and Irish saints in the twelfth-century Book of Leinster, where his Irish counterpart is the deacon, Nessán: Best et al., *Book of Leinster*, vi, 1682:51665; P. Ó Riain, *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (Dublin, 1985), 161 (712.26). For relics of Laurence contained in the twelfth-century *Breac Máedóic*, see below, p. 224.

123 T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Oxford, 2000), 274–81.

124 Details in D. N. Dumville, *Councils and Synods of the Gaelic Early and Central Middle Ages*, Quiggin Pamphlets on the Sources of Mediaeval Gaelic History, 3 (Cambridge, 1988), 38–9.

125 Above, p. 40, n. 21.

at which prayer and preaching were essential elements. Specific *ordines* for the conduct of a synod survive from as early as the seventh-century Visigothic church, and they were often accorded a section in pontificals.[126] As envisaged in those *ordines*, the underlying purpose of synods was religious and the procedures liturgical in nature, taking the form of processions, litanies, homilies, absolutions, benedictions and anathemas.[127] The liturgical dimension may be dimly glimpsed in Geoffrey Keating's account of the synod of Ráith Bressail, where in describing the boundaries of the diocese of Limerick it is stated that 'whoever shall go against those boundaries goes against the Lord, and Peter the Apostle, and St Patrick and his *comarba*, and the Christian church', while in relation to the overall decrees it is recorded that 'the blessing of the Lord, and of Peter the Apostle, and of St Patrick be on every one of these twenty-five bishops who shall let no Easter pass without consecrating oil' and 'the crosses of all the bishops and of all the laity and clergy who were at this holy synod of Ráith Bressail against whomsoever shall transgress these decrees, and the malediction of them all on whomsoever shall oppose them'.[128] Bernard of Clairvaux related, that following the death of Cellach of Armagh, Malachy's former teacher, Máel Ísu (Malchus) Ua hAinmire and the papal legate, Bishop Gillebertus of Limerick, 'convened the bishops and rulers of the land' and they commanded Malachy authoritatively to assume the office of bishop of Armagh, threatening him with anathema if he failed to comply.[129] Malachy's plea that he was 'already joined to another spouse' – that is, he was bishop of Connor – was to no avail. The purpose of the synod was to observe canonical procedures for the translation of Malachy from Connor to Armagh. A solemn liturgy for the bestowal of pallia on the archbishops of Armagh, Cashel, Dublin and Tuam would have been enacted at the synod of Kells (1152).[130] The important role of synodal preaching is captured by Gerald of Wales in his autobiography, where he tendentiously described the provincial synod of Dublin convened by Archbishop John Cumin in 1186.[131] On

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126 C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, revised and transl. W. Storey and N. Rasmussen (Portland, OR, 1986), 188.

127 Cf. *PRG*, i, 269–307.

128 *FFÉ*, iii, 306–7. Instances of anathemas and maledictions linked to the promulgation of earlier *cánai* are conveniently enumerated in P. Kelly, 'The rule of Patrick: textual affinities' in P. Ní Chatháin and M. Richter (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Texts and Transmission/Irland und Europa im Früheren Mittelalter: Texte und Überlieferung* (Dublin, 2002), 293–5. Maledictions were also used to reinforce transactions recorded in the *notitiae* inserted into the Book of Kells in the twelfth century: G. Mac Niocaill, 'The Irish "charters" in F. O'Mahony (ed.), *The Book of Kells* (Aldershot, 1994), 153–65 at 155–8.

129 *Convocatis episcopis et principis terrae*: *Vita Malachiae*, 330–31; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 39.

130 Cf. H. A. Wilson (ed.), *The Pontifical of Magdalen College with an Appendix of Extracts from other English MSS of the Twelfth Century*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 39 (London, 1910), 249–51, who printed a version for the reception of the pallium at Canterbury from the Dublin pontifical, TCD MS 98.

131 *Giraldi Opera*, i, 65–72; H. E. Butler (transl.), *The Autobiography of Giraldus Cambrensis* (London, 1937), 91–7.

the first day Cumin himself preached on the sacraments of the church; on the second day Ailbe (Albinus) Ua Máel Muaid, bishop of Ferns, chose clerical continence as his theme, accusing the clergy who had come from Wales and England as especially culpable and claiming that the clergy of Ireland were being corrupted by their behaviour, evidently citing *Ecclesiasticus* (13.1) that 'he who touches pitch shall be defiled thereby'. Ailbe's sermon was so effective that the 'clergy of Wexford' accused each other before the archbishop and the whole council, admitting to concubines whom they had publicly kept in their dwellings and even 'married with due ceremony'. Cumin supposedly took the advice of Gerald, who urged that witnesses be summoned to accuse the transgressors and justice be done publicly without delay. On hearing the evidence, the Irish clergy mocked the wrong-doers while the archbishop, in order to check the insults of the Irish and to demonstrate that he too disapproved of such impurity and lawless-ness, passed sentence on those who had been convicted and suspended them from all office or benefice in the church. An extant decree of the synod, as confirmed by Pope Urban III, referred to the esteem for the virtues of chastity in which the Irish clergy excelled and forbade any priest, deacon or subdeacon to have a woman in his house under the pretext of necessary service, unless she were his mother, or blood sister, or of such advanced age that there could be no suspicion of unlawful concubinage.[132] On the third day Cumin asked Gerald to preach and he chose pastoral duty as his theme, castigating the Irish clergy for negligence of their pastoral responsibilities and excessive drunkenness. The usually partisan Gerald was actually prepared to admit to failings on the part of Anglo-Norman clergy in order to highlight the merits of his own sermon. Gerald's account draws attention to another vital component of synodal activity, namely the judgement of, and passing of sentence on, errant clergy, as in the case of the synod convened by Malachy at Lismore against the cleric who denied the doctrine of the Real Presence.[133]

While synods were primarily gatherings of clergy ranked according to their orders, the presence and participation of the laity was on occasion also envisaged as appropriate at certain stages in the proceedings, usually on the first day. Hence the attendance of kings such as Toirdelbach Ua Briain and Muirchertach Ua Briain at the synods of Cashel and Ráith Bressail, or of Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair, king of Connacht and newly proclaimed high-king, at the synod of Áth Buide Tlachtga (Athboy) in 1167,[134] was in line with established practice.

It remains to consider briefly the evidence for the family backgrounds and connections of the twelfth-century episcopate that is afforded by patronymics and surnames, combined with genealogical material and annalistic notices. As already noted, Cellach, bishop of Armagh (*ob.* 1129), was drawn from the

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132 Sheehy, *Pontificia*, i, 51; M. P. Sheehy, *When the Normans Came to Ireland* (Cork, 1975; reprinted 1998), 63.

133 Above, p. 107. Gillebertus of Limerick attributed a judicial role to the bishop: J. Fleming, *Gille of Limerick (c. 1070–1145): Architect of a Medieval Church* (Dublin, 2001), 234–5.

134 *AFM.*

self-perpetuating ecclesiastical family of Clann Sínaich.[135] Malachy too was the son of a cleric, Mugrón (*ob.* 1102), *fer léigind* or chief scholar of the church of Armagh,[136] a circumstance not mentioned by Bernard of Clairvaux, who chose instead to focus on the role of Malachy's mother in inculcating Christian virtues.[137] In the province of Connacht the dominance of the Ua Dubthaig family is apparent in the bishoprics of Elphin and Tuam.[138] In the bishopric of Killaloe, the surnames of Ua hÉnna, Ua Conaing and Ua Lonngargáin, all drawn from collateral lines within the ruling Dál Cais dynasty, predominate in the episcopal succession lists.[139] Many more examples could be cited, such as that of the Uí Ronáin in Glendalough,[140] or the Uí Selbaig at Cork.[141] Such occurrences led Donnchadh Ó Corráin to pose the question: 'Is this reform in any of the many senses in which the term is used and abused, or is it agile professional adaptation to changing circumstances and new styles?'[142] That assessment may be judged overly cynical. It was not uniquely in Ireland that high-status ecclesiastics were drawn from royal and aristocratic families. Ties between the nobility and the upper clergy were the norm throughout Europe.[143] The relationship between churchmen and the Dál Cais dynasty is reflected in the Life of Flannán, which portrays the saint as the son of King Toirdelbach, but that same text also demonstrates that reformist ideals had been absorbed and the role of bishop recast in

135 Above, pp. 36, 44.

136 *AI* 1102.7, *AU²* 1102.12, *AT*, *AFM*, *CS* 1098=1102.

137 *Vita Malachiae*, 310; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 15.

138 P. Ó Riain, 'Sanctity and politics in Connacht, *c.* 1100: the case of St Fursa', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 17 (1989), 1–14; C. Etchingham, 'Episcopal hierarchy in Connacht and Tairdelbach Ua Conchobair', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, 52 (2000), 13–29. In 1203 Pope Innocent III, replying to the request of John of Salerno, papal legate in Ireland, that the pallium be sent to the newly elected archbishop of Tuam, rehearsed the contents of the legate's letter: 'the archbishop of Tuam having died shortly before you arrived in the country, you found the see filled by his nephew, whom he had consecrated bishop without title [that is, without a see] so that he should have the succession on his own death, for his father and grandfather had ruled the see of Tuam (*defuncto siquidem archiepiscopo Tuamensi parum antequam terram intrares occupatam invenisti ecclesiam a nepote quem absque titulo in episcopum consecrarat ut post mortem ipsius eidem succederet nam avus et proavus regimen habuerant ecclesie Tuamensis*): Sheehy, *Pontificia*, i, no. 53.

139 D. Ó Corráin, 'Dál Cais: church and dynasty', *Ériu*, 24 (1973), 52–63; idem, 'The early Irish churches: some aspects of organisation' in D. Ó Corráin (ed.), *Irish Antiquity: Essays and Studies Presented to Professor M. J. O'Kelly* (Blackrock, co. Dublin, 1981), 327–41 at 328–30.

140 C. Doherty, 'Cluain Dolcáin: a brief note' in A. P. Smyth (ed.), *Seanchas: Studies in Early and Medieval Irish Archaeology, History and Literature in Honour of Francis J. Byrne* (Dublin, 2000), 182–8 at 185–7.

141 The local family of Ua Selbaig, which traced its descent from the Uí Meic Iair, and held most, if not all, of the lands corresponding to the later civil parish of St Finbar's, was entrenched at Cork: P. Ó Riain, *The Making of a Saint: Finbar of Cork, 600–1200*, Irish Texts Society, Subsidiary Series, 5 (1997), 45–51. For the ecclesiastical dynasty of Flann Mainistrech at Monasterboice and hereditary clergy at Kells, cf. below, pp. 162, 165.

142 Ó Corráin, 'Dál Cais: church and dynasty', 62–3.

143 Cf. C. Bouchard, *Sword, Miter and Cloister: Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980–1198* (Ithaca, NY, 1987).

accordance with a contemporary reformist agenda. As already mentioned, Flannán, as a dying request, very earnestly appealed to his relatives not to usurp the *regimen ecclesiae* under the pretext of either a blood relationship or royal power. He wished his successor, whatever his origins, whether of noble or non-noble origin, to be elected freely and accepted by all unanimously.[144] While ecclesiastical recruitment may have continued to be in the first instance from local established clerical families, and the installation of an *alienigena* ('outsider') who was 'poor', 'holy' and 'learned', such as Malachy effected in the see of Cork in the 1140s,[145] may have been an exception, the commitment of individuals who came to understand vocation in a new way as a result of new or revived ideals should not be underestimated. They might, like Cellach or Malachy, have been members of clerical dynasties, but they had also made a personal choice and commitment. It was the Dál Cais court bishop Domnall Ua hÉnna who initiated a correspondence with Lanfranc seeking clarification on whether baptised infants who died before they had received communion would be saved.[146] The religious life was reconceived as a particular vocation that individuals such as Malachy consciously chose of their own volition.

Whether episcopal leadership was pastorally as successful in practice as was the formulation of a new ideology is very difficult to gauge, in light of the paucity of evidence such as episcopal *acta*, registers, pontificals or conciliar legislation that would enable a more realistic assessment of episcopal activity and impact. It is not even possible to reconstruct an exact chronological succession of bishops for all sees. And even where names and dates are ascertainable, the careers of most bishops remain unknown in any meaningful way. This is the case even for archbishops, unless they came to be regarded as saints, like Malachy or Lorcán Ua Tuathail, and therefore subjects of hagiographical Lives – in the two latter instances, Lives that were written on the Continent in support of bids for their canonisation. By their very nature, such Lives present only idealised portrayals and it remains difficult to bridge the gap between conventional hagiographical formulation and actual practice.

Episcopal influence and agency need not have been solely dependent on the charisma of individuals, but may also have been accumulated in an *ad hoc* manner, dependent as much on the strength of the episcopate as a collectivity and the network of relationships that individual bishops created with kings and the local society within which they operated. Bishop Gillebertus of Limerick must have drawn strength from the support of Muirchertach Ua Briain, whose death in 1119 may have resulted in a decline in Gillebertus's influence that possibly accounts for his absence from the annals other than his death-notice in 1145. Malachy was dependent on the support first of Cormac Mac Carthaig, king of Munster (1123–38), and then of Donnchad Ua Cerbaill, king of Airgialla (*ante* 1132–68).

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144 *Vita Flannani*, 298.
145 *Vita Malachiae*, 355; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 65.
146 See below, p. 208.

Despite the brevity of annalistic entries, it could be argued that the rites reserved to bishops received greater visibility in the course of the twelfth century. Only a bishop could turn a building into a house of God[147] and the dedication of a church was an important event, attended by ecclesiastical and lay dignitaries, which would have occasioned an elaborate display of episcopal authority. Whenever and wherever bishops gathered in any numbers in one place awe-inspiring liturgical celebrations must have ensued, and such liturgical displays undoubtedly served to bolster episcopal authority. In 1126 Cellach's consecration of a new church at Armagh was noted in the annals.[148] In 1134 Cormac's Chapel on the Rock of Cashel was 'consecrated by a synod of the clergy assembled in one place'.[149] In 1148 Malachy as papal legate consecrated the abbey church of Knock in the presence of the local bishop, Áed Ua Cáellaide, and the local king, Donnchad Ua Cerbaill, king of Airgialla.[150] At the consecration of the church of the first Cistercian foundation at Mellifont in 1157 seventeen bishops were in attendance alongside the papal legate, Gilla Críst Ua Connairche, bishop of Lismore, and Gilla Meic Liac, archbishop of Armagh, not to mention the many kings.[151] In 1166 a new church was consecrated at Lismore by Gilla Críst Ua Connairche in the presence of twelve other bishops, and a synod was held at the same time.[152] Gregorius, abbot of Regensburg was present on that occasion with three of his clergy and other servants, and on the party's return to Germany they recounted a miracle involving a crucifix that they had witnessed.[153] Records of cemetery consecrations are more meagre, being mentioned only in a general way – for example, in the death-notices of Cellach in 1129 and Malachy in 1148. Although not as dramatic as church consecrations, they nonetheless made the bishop visible to the local community as he walked the perimeter of the grave while intoning prayers for the dead, as well as for those who had yet to die. Such occasions also afforded opportunities for episcopal preaching. Episcopal installations were also elaborate liturgical ceremonies. The consecration of Caemchomrac Ua Baegill as bishop of Armagh in 1099 was timed to coincide with the most solemn feast of Whitsun.[154] In 1162 Lorcán Ua Tuathail was installed as archbishop of Dublin by the primate, Gilla Meic Liac, assisted by the

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147 In a *notitia* inserted into the Book of Kells relating to a transaction 1122×48, the church of Int Ednén is stated to have been consecrated by Máel Ciaráin son of Mengán (*im aimsir chosecartha tempuill ind Edhnen ic Máel Ciaran mac Mengan*; text reconstructed by Gearóid Mac Niocaill): Mac Niocaill, *Notitiae*, 24–5; idem, 'The Irish "charters" ', 160–61. Máel Ciaráin is described in his death-notice as 'a noble priest of the *reiclés* at Kells': *AFM*. For *reiclés*, see above, p. 43, n. 41.
148 His death-notice in 1129 also stressed his consecration of churches: *AU²* 1129.3, *AI* 1129.6, *AFM*; above, p. 43.
149 *AFM*, *MIA* 1134.1, *CS* 1130=1134, *AClon*, 194.
150 *AFM*.
151 *AFM*.
152 *AI* 1166.2.
153 Ó Riain-Raedel, 'Cashel and Germany', 211; below, pp. 180, n. 55, 237.
154 *AFM*.

bishops of Kildare and Ferns and 'in the presence of many bishops'.[155] Such events heightened awareness of episcopal authority and collective action for clergy and laity alike.

Bishops were also actively involved in contemporary politics, fulfilling the role of vouchsafing transactions and making relics available for the swearing of oaths, and acting as guarantors for the safety of individuals passed progressively to them from the *comarbai*, or heads of churches. While these were not specifically episcopal functions in canon law, it is a mark of strengthening authority that increasingly in the annals bishops were recorded as exercising that role.[156] The insignia of *comarba Pátraic* had passed to Cellach in 1106 on his assumption of episcopal orders and, although Malachy initially had difficulty in gaining possession from Clann Sínaich, he was able to pass on the insignia to his successor in 1136. In 1157 Gilla Meic Liac, described as 'archbishop of Armagh, *tenens baculum Jesu in manu sua*', headed the list of witnesses to Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn's charter in favour of the Cistercian abbey of Newry.[157] Nothing could illustrate better the transfer of the Patrician succession to the archbishop of Armagh: episcopal authority had become woven into the fabric of twelfth-century Irish society at the highest level. Partial and patchy though the evidence may be, it cannot be doubted that the episcopal office had come to be conceived as the chief repository of church leadership and that individual bishops reflected on their pastorate and responsibilities and sought to provide leadership in a re-invigorated way in the twelfth-century Irish church.

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155 *AFM*; Plummer, 'Vie et miracles de St Laurent', 137.
156 See further below, pp. 171–84.
157 Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters*, 292–3.

'RESTORING THE MONASTIC AND CANONICAL RULES
OF THE CHURCH IN IRELAND':
ST MALACHY AND MONASTIC REFORM

One of the most distinctive features of the religious revival that gathered pace throughout Europe from the eleventh century onwards was the great variety of interpretations of the religious life that emerged in a relatively short time-span. The proliferation of diverse interpretations of the monastic life had initially created, in the words of Pope Urban II, 'a schism in the house of God'.[1] Although, at first, there had been tensions between old and new monks, a gradual acceptance of variety emerged and the positive value of 'diversity but not adversity' had come to be accepted by the mid twelfth century,[2] by which time both Augustinian and Cistercian monasticism had been introduced to the Irish church, each promoted in equal measure by Malachy, whose interest in more than one Continental monastic observance reflects that twelfth-century engagement with different interpretations of the monastic life.[3]

Malachy's first encounter with the religious life had been under his spiritual mentor, Imar Ua hÁedacáin, at Armagh, to whose 'pattern of life (*forma vitae*)' he submitted himself and from whom he learnt ascetic discipline and humility.[4] Following his ordination as a priest Malachy then went to study under Bishop Máel Ísu (Malchus) Ua hAinmire at Lismore, so as to ensure that he would be properly informed 'regarding divine ritual and the veneration of the sacraments' lest he should teach anything that went counter to the universal church, and to learn from Máel Ísu his 'way of life and his teaching (*vita et doctrina*)'.[5] Máel Ísu, as Bernard of Clairvaux recounted, 'had been converted to the monastic habit and intention at the monastery of Winchester', and would therefore have been trained in Benedictine monasticism.[6] Máel Ísu must have introduced Malachy to

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1 G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996), 2, 47.

2 Ibid., 47, 87, 125.

3 Support for different interpretations of the monastic life was also a feature of lay patronage: below, p. 202.

4 *Vita Malachiae*, 312, line 25; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 19.

5 *Cultum divinorum et venerationem sacramentorum*: *Vita Malachiae*, 316, lines 13–14; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 24.

6 *Conversatus fuerat in habitu et proposito monachali Wintoniensi monasterio*: *Vita Malachiae*, 317, *St Malachy the Irishman*, 24. For Malchus's consecration by, and correspondence with, Anselm, see above, p. 50.

at least some aspects of Benedictine practice, even if Máel Ísu's episcopal house-hold may not have been organised as a monastic community.[7] Returning north, and still under the spiritual direction of Imar, Malachy set out with ten companions to revive communal monastic life at Bangor, one of the most important early Irish monastic foundations, which dated back to the sixth century. Bangor, in Bernard's words, had in the past produced many thousands of monks and had been highly productive of saints, including Columbanus (*ob.* 615), whom Bernard knew as the founder of Luxeuil and other monasteries in Francia.[8] However, as Bernard recorded, Bangor had been destroyed by pirates – doubtless an allusion to viking raiders.[9] Malachy especially wished to restore Bangor to its 'ancient glory' and to 'replant Paradise' there because of the many bodies of saints who were buried at that location; but he was to encounter strong local opposition in seeking to re-establish communal monastic life and to recover the secularised lands of the monastery, which were under the control of an individual who bore the title of abbot but 'preserved only in name, not in fact, that which had once been'.[10] Furthermore, the man whom Malachy allowed to retain the landed possessions of the monastery was not grateful for that 'benefice (*beneficium*)', a term which implies a concession on Malachy's part, and was troublesome to him and his followers in everything, disparaging his deeds, ridiculing his building plans and plotting against him.

Malachy's difficulties in recovering Bangor's landed estates may have led him towards the view expressed by Peter the Venerable, when asked by Pope Innocent II (1130–43) to restore the ancient Columbanian foundation of Luxeuil, that 'new houses can be founded more easily than old ones repaired';[11] and that

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7　For the problems associated with locating Malchus's see at Waterford and/or Lismore and possible evidence for his introduction of a liturgical calendar that originated at Winchester, see D. O'Connor, 'Malchus (*c.* 1047–1135), monk of Winchester and first bishop of Waterford', *Decies: Journal of the Waterford Historical and Archaeological Society*, 61 (2005), 123–50; 'Bishop Malchus: his arrival in Lismore, and the Winchester saints in a Waterford calendar', *Decies: Journal of the Waterford Historical and Archaeological Society*, 62 (2006), 49–65. The calendar is contained in an early-thirteenth-century manuscript associated with the hospital of St John, Waterford (Cambridge, CCC MS 405, fos 11r–16v); alongside Irish saints occur a number of saints associated specifically with Winchester. See M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1912), ii, 280–81; M. Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, Winchester Studies, 4, ii (Oxford, 2003), 50–54.

8　*Vita Malachiae*, 321–2; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 30–31.

9　In 824 Bangor was plundered by vikings and the shrine of its founder, Comgall, was broken open: *AU²* 824.2, *CS*. A further raid in 958 is suggested by the annalistic entry recording the killing by Foreigners of Tanaide son of Odar, *comarba* of Bangor: *AU²* 958.2. There is, nonetheless, a relatively complete list of *comarbai* down to 1123: *NHI*, ix, 242. Bernard claimed that as many as 900 were killed in the piratical attack on Bangor, information that may have derived from material supplied to him by Irish informants.

10　*Abbates appellabantur, servantes nomine, etsi non re, quod olim existerat*: *Vita Malachiae*, 323; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 30–31. The incumbent may be presumed to have been a *princeps/ airchinnech*.

11　Constable, *The Reformation*, 112, 309.

may at least in part have conditioned Malachy's interest in contemporary Continental monastic practices and their introduction to the Irish church. Reforms of existing institutions almost always involved some difficulty, and it was not uniquely in Ireland that reformers might meet with resistance and open violence. Opposition was likely to be stronger, and more successful, when the incumbents had the support of a local power whose interests were threatened by reform measures, as appears to have been the case at Bangor. Yet, notwithstanding local difficulties, reformers sought to make use of deserted sites because it gratified their sense of rebuilding the church physically as well as spiritually. The number of references in Continental sources to the occupation of deserted churches by reformers suggests that it was a *topos*, but one that might nevertheless genuinely inspire action. Monastic renewal in the Irish church similarly sought the re-formation of the communal life at existing, or abandoned, monastic sites, a feature that was to be characteristic of both the Augustinian and Cistercian communities established during the twelfth century.

Malachy is well known for the introduction of the first Cistercian community at Mellifont (co. Louth), founded under his initiative in 1142. His identification with Cistercian monasticism derives chiefly from the near-contemporary Life written by that most eminent of Cistercians, Bernard of Clairvaux, after Malachy's death at Clairvaux on 2 November 1148 and certainly before Bernard's own death on 21 August 1153.[12] However, there is actually little coverage in the Life of the introduction of Cistercian monasticism to Ireland, apart from recounting that Malachy left four of his companions with Bernard for training 'so that they may learn from you what they may later teach us', while Bernard implicitly acknowledged that Malachy's promotion of Cistercian practices was a reformist strategy when he had Malachy declare that the Irish people 'from olden days heard the word monk, but have never seen a monk'.[13] In other words, Malachy envisaged the introduction of Cistercian practices as reinvigorating monasticism in the Irish church. On his return to Ireland Malachy sent others for training to Clairvaux, whose number, however, cannot have been high, since they were to return to Ireland augmented with monks from Clairvaux so as to enable the foundation of an abbey, which required a minimum of twelve persons.[14] Somewhat more informative are four letters addressed by Bernard to

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12 In the sermon preached on the first anniversary of Malachy's death Bernard alluded to a miracle relating to an Irish king that is repeated in the Life: *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, vi/I, 51–2; *Vita Malachiae*, 363–4; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 75–6, 108. This suggests that material from Ireland had already been transmitted to Bernard by that date.

13 *Et illae gentes, quae a diebus antiquis monachi quidem nomen audierunt, monachum non viderunt*: *Vita Malachiae*, 345, lines 2–3; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 53. Cf. Bernard's letter to Malachy where he urges the need for vigilance *tamquam in loco novo et in terra tam insueta, immo et inexperta monasticae religionis* ('because the place is new and in a land moreover so inexpert in the monastic life'): *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, viii, no. 357.

14 C. Waddell, *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux*, Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses, Studia et Documenta, 9 (Cîteaux, 1999), 187.

Malachy and a letter of condolence sent to the Irish brethren on the occasion of Malachy's death.[15] Bernard advised Malachy to seek out a site similar 'to the kind of places you have seen among us, far removed from the tumults of the world'.[16] From Bernard's Life, the primary focus of which was to portray Malachy as an ideal bishop, actively engaged in pastoral care rather than a promoter of the monastic life,[17] an impression is nonetheless gained of a man who was eager to absorb as many experiences of contemporary religious life as possible. In Rome Malachy spent a whole month visiting the holy places and returning often to sites at which he had already prayed.[18] He may have drawn inspiration from the fact that his former teacher, Imar Ua hÁedacáin, had died in Rome on pilgrimage in 1134.[19] Malachy may also have been aware that one of his predecessors as abbot of Bangor, Céle Dabaill mac Scanaill, had resigned his abbacy in 928 and died *in peregrinatione* in Rome in 929.[20] While travelling through England in 1139 on his first journey to the Continent Malachy had met a holy man at York named by Bernard as Syracus.[21] Little is known about this individual, but he has been identified with Sigar, or Sighere, a priest of Newbald in the east Riding of Yorkshire and author of an account of a vision experienced by Orm, a thirteen-year old boy who in November 1125 had fallen seriously ill and underwent an out-of-body experience of the next life. Orm had lain in apparent death for thirteen days until he recovered consciousness and related a description of four states in the next life: heaven, paradise (which was a separate place from heaven), those outside the wall of paradise, and those in hell.[22] Six months after his vision Orm died and was buried in the graveyard of the church of St Peter, Howden; his death attracted a throng of priests, monks, clergy and laity, suggesting that news of his vision had spread in the meantime.[23] The main purpose of Bernard's account of Malachy's encounter with Syracus, whose holi-

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15 *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, viii, nos 341, 356–7, 374, 545–6. Malachy's correspondence, to which Bernard alluded, is not preserved.

16 *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, viii, 283; B. Scott James (transl.), *The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux* (London, 1953), 453.

17 See above, p. 150. In similar vein, in the sermons preached on the occasion of Malachy's requiem and the first anniversary of his death, Bernard concentrated on Malachy's priestly and pastoral virtues and made no mention of his status as a monk or his promotion of Cistercian monasticism: *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, v, 417–23, vi/I, 50–55; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 97–112.

18 *Vita Malachiae*, 343–4; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 50.

19 *ALC, AFM* 1134. Imar is commemorated on 13 August in *Félire Húi Gormáin*, 156–7.

20 *AU²* 928.7, 929.3. He is described as *scriba et anchorita et apostolicus doctor totius Hiberniae*.

21 *Vita Malachiae*, 341; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 50.

22 See H. Farmer, 'The vision of Orm', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 75 (1957), 76–82, discussion in C. Watkins, 'Sin, penance and purgatory in the Anglo-Norman realm: the evidence of visions and ghost stories, *Past and Present*, 175 (2002), 3–33 at 12–15.

23 Sighere addressed his text to Symeon, *precentor* of Durham, the well-known chronicler, who died around 1130; the parish of Howden was a jurdisdictional peculiar of Durham. Jocelin of Furness's Life of Waldef includes an account of the meeting between Sigere and Malachy that is clearly drawn from Bernard's Life: *Acta Sanctorum*, August, i, 256–7. For Waldef, see below, n. 25.

ness was attested by his gift of prophecy, was to relate his foretelling that few of Malachy's company would return with him to Ireland; and the truth of that prophecy was validated by the fact that Malachy was to leave some of his companions at Clairvaux, but also in other places, to be inducted into the monastic way of life.[24] Bernard also recounted how on the same journey Malachy had met Waldef, prior of the *regulares fratres* ('regular brethren') at Kirkham,[25] a community of Augustinian canons that had been founded around 1121. Travelling for a second time to the Continent through England in 1148 Malachy made a detour to visit the priory of Guisborough (Yorks.) because he had known for a long time of the reputation of the religious men there *ducentes canonicam vitam* ('leading a canonical life').[26] Guisborough had been founded as an Augustinian house *ca* 1119 by Robert de Brus, who had been granted lands in Yorkshire by the English king Henry I, and who in 1124 was confirmed in the lordship of Annandale (Dumfriesshire) by David I, king of Scots.[27] Malachy may therefore have already learnt about the canons of Guisborough while journeying through south-west Scotland. Certainly, a later Brus family tradition held that there had been a direct encounter with Malachy at Annan. In 1273 Robert (V) de Brus, lord of Annandale, returning from crusade, visited Clairvaux and made a grant of land to support lights at Malachy's tomb.[28] His aim, as explained in the Lanercost chronicle, was to lift a curse which Malachy had laid on a twelfth-century ancestor who hanged a robber even though he had promised Malachy that he would spare the miscreant's life.[29]

Bernard made no mention of Malachy's visit to the Augustinian community of Arrouaise in Picardy, but it is known from a late-twelfth-century account written

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24 *Ad discendam conversationis formam*: *Vita Malachiae*, 342, line 7; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 50. For monastic *conversatio*, cf. the Rule of Benedict, ch. 73 in A. de Vogüé and J. Neufville (eds), *La Règle de Saint Benoît*, 6 vols, Sources Chrétiennes, 181–6 (Paris, 1971–2), ii, 672–3; vi, 1324–6.

25 Bernard's notice of Waldef can be accounted for by the circumstance that Waldef subsequently became abbot of the Cistercian house of Melrose in 1148. See further, D. Baker, 'Waldef', *ODNB*, lvi, 765–6.

26 *Vita Malachiae*, 373, line 14; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 87.

27 A. A. M. Duncan, 'Brus, Robert de', *ODNB*, xxxix, 372; R. M. Blakely, *The Brus Family in England and Scotland, 1100–1295* (Woodbridge, 2005), 167–80. Robert is likely to have been granted Annandale between 1116 and 1120: W. E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North: The Region and its Transformation* (London, 1979), 207.

28 A. Macquarrie, 'Notes on some charters of the Bruces of Annandale', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 3rd Series, 58 (1983), 72–9 at 76–7.

29 According to the Lancercost chronicler, Malachy had dined in the Brus household at Annan when passing through Scotland: J. Stevenson (ed.), *Chronicon de Lanercost M.CC.I.–M.CCC.XLVI. e Codice Cottoniano Nunc Primum Typis Mandatum*, Bannatyne Club, 65 (Edinburgh, 1839), 160; H. Maxwell (transl.), *The Chronicle of Lanercost, 1272–1347* (Glasgow, 1913), 112–14. In 1319 King Robert Bruce, in turn, was to provide for a lamp and candles to burn before the altar of St Malachy in the Cistercian abbey of Coupar Angus: D. E. Easson (ed.), *Charters of the Abbey of Coupar Angus*, 2 vols, Scottish History Society, 3rd Series, 40–41 (Edinburgh, 1947), i, 215–16.

at Arrouaise.[30] From a Life compiled in preparation for the canonisation of Gilbert, founder of the double monastery of Sempringham (Lincs.), we learn another incidental detail: that Malachy had met Gilbert at Clairvaux and had 'become so intimate with him' that, 'as a token of affection', he had given Gilbert a gift of a pastoral staff.[31] Yet another externally preserved source, the Vision of Tnugdal, composed in 1149 at Regensburg, described Malachy as having founded fifty-four congregations of monks, canons and nuns.[32] None of this information can be recovered from material of Irish provenance, highlighting once again how invaluable is the light shed by externally generated sources.

From the range of Malachy's contacts it may be assumed that his monastic choices for the Irish church were deliberate and informed. Because historians have generally focused on the histories of individual houses and orders inter-monastic and inter-institutional currents have tended to be underplayed, although they exercised a crucial role in the dissemination of reform ideology. One of the most important channels of influence was personal contacts and visits, and Malachy's career typifies that aspect of mid-twelfth-century monastic reform initiatives.

Malachy's introduction of Cistercian monasticism

Malachy was responsible for the promotion of both Cistercian monasticism and the Augustinian rule according to the Arrouasian observances. What contribution did Malachy envisage that those two particular interpretations of the monastic life would make to the Irish church? The reputation and charismatic personality of Bernard might be thought sufficient explanation for Malachy's visit to Clairvaux and his promotion of Cistercian monasticism, but it is nonetheless appropriate to ask what specific elements of Cistercian observances appealed to Malachy. How important to him, for example, were Cistercian institutional structures? This is a pertinent question since the Cistercians have often been described as the first true religious order, in that they developed constitutional and administrative arrangements aimed at ensuring uniformity of monastic practices, of liturgy and of architecture across their houses.[33] This was to be

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30 Below, p. 136, n. 98.

31 R. Foreville and G. Kerr (eds), *The Book of St Gilbert* (Oxford, 1987), 44–5. The present version of the Life was written shortly after the translation of the relics of the newly canonised Gilbert on 13 October 1202: B. Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertine Order, c. 1130–1300* (Oxford, 1995), 7. Malachy also gave Bernard of Clairvaux a gift of a staff: *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, viii, 282; James, *The Letters of St. Bernard*, 452.

32 *Visio Tnugdali*, *55; *Vision of Tnugdal*, 155. Malachy's death-notice, derived from a set of Cistercian annals of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin, described him as *fundator multorum cenobiorum monachorum, canonicorum, et sanctimonialium*: J. T. Gilbert (ed.), *Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin*, 2 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1884), ii, 263.

33 For a classic statement, see D. Knowles, *From Pachomius to Ignatius: The Constitutional History of the Religious Orders* (Oxford, 1966), 27.

achieved through a variety of strategies. An annual chapter at Cîteaux, which all Cistercian abbots were obliged to attend, in person or by proxy, passed statutes that were binding on all Cistercian houses, while Cistercian abbots were also sent as visitors to inspect standards in each house. Cistercian institutional structures are generally assumed to have been put in place relatively quickly following the founding of Cîteaux in 1098 and to have been well developed by the time that the first Irish Cistercian house was founded at Mellifont in 1142. In recent years, however, there has been re-evaluation of the origins and growth of the Cistercians as a religious order. The most radical critique of conventional accounts of Cistercian origins has been advanced by Constance Hoffmann Berman, who argues that 'the evolution of the Cistercian order' – that is, its development of institutional organisation – has been dated too early by historians.[34] Her study concludes: 'What can be said definitely here is that not only was the Cistercian order not founded in 1098, it was not even founded before the death of Bernard of Clairvaux in 1153.'[35] This revision of the chronology of Cistercian evolution would imply that there would have been a considerable difference between what it meant for a monastic community to adopt Cistercian practices in the 1140s, during the lifetime of Malachy, and what adopting those customs would have entailed by the 1190s, when an organisational framework had become more fully developed.

In arguing for a more gradual evolution of the Cistercians as an institutional order, Berman highlights that much of what historians have written about Cistercian origins has depended on in-house Cistercian accounts of their own history, which have been too uncritically accepted and which, in any case, were mostly non-contemporary. Thus, the Charter of Charity (*Carta Caritatis*), the document that laid down an institutional framework and which has traditionally been dated to between 1114 and *ca* 1130, has been re-dated by Berman to 1165.[36] The consequence, if this revised dating is accepted, is that the document would have to be viewed as a means of bringing under structured oversight a large number of houses that hitherto had been only loosely affiliated and had been chiefly identifiable as Cistercian by their liturgical usages. Arguing from the manuscript evidence, Berman has also stressed that it was only from the 1190s onwards that the Cistercian filiation-tables – in which abbeys were attached as mother- and daughter-houses – were developed (a dating that reflects the more gradual evolution of institutional structures), chiefly in response to the annual chapter's decrees about visitation, and that such filiation-trees were still in the process of compilation in the early thirteenth century. While historians have long been aware that no extant copy of those tables is older than the first half of the thirteenth century, and that it is probable that the first such lists were indeed

34 C. H. Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia, PA, 1999).
35 Ibid., 236.
36 Ibid., 56–92, 237–41.

drawn up around 1190,[37] Berman's particular contribution has been to emphasise just how misleading reliance on those tables may be in charting Cistercian origins and growth, in that they required a sequence of multiple events in the foundation, or incorporation, of an individual house to be condensed into a single date.[38] The filiation-tables, in other words, have resulted in an overly schematic view of Cistercian expansion, and have obscured the fact that, in Berman's view, for almost a century after the foundation of Cîteaux in 1098 there was no systematic oversight of those monastic communities which eventually came to be formally affiliated to Cîteaux.

Another feature of early Cistercian origins subjected to reappraisal by Berman is what she has termed the 'myth of apostolic gestation', whereby an abbot and a symbolic apostolic community of twelve monks set out to establish a new monastery in an uncultivated wilderness location that was characterised by its isolation and remoteness from human habitation.[39] Such a perception has resulted, among other things, in the attribution to Cistercian monks of new and more intensive agricultural practices, presenting them as unintentional, or involuntary, 'holy entrepreneurs'[40] who fuelled colonialist expansion and land reclamation on the margins of settled Europe, an image that in part was cultivated by the Cistercians themselves.[41] Cistercian manuscripts depicted monks and brothers engaged in land clearance by their direct labour.[42] Images of Cistercian labour making the wilderness fertile can be read in a homilistic way as representing the physical achievement of Cistercian spirituality, the greening of a spiritual desert. In Berman's view, this is an idealised foundational model that certainly did not apply in all cases: the language of wilderness sites in the Cistercian texts was more rhetorical than a reflection of reality and derived from motifs that were drawn from the Old Testament and the Sayings of the Desert Fathers, the founders of monasticism in the fourth century.

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37 The approximate date of 1190 was proposed by L. Janauschek, *Originum Cisterciensium* (Vienna, 1877), xvi.

38 Cf. Waddell, *Narrative and Legislative Texts*, 149, where the stages in the foundation of a house are highlighted as possibly ranging over a lengthy period of months, or even years, from the initial idea through preliminary negotiations to official agreements and approbations, and juridical installation, all of which had to be concretised into a single symbolic date of foundation in the filiation-tables. There was also a range of possible different foundation dates, such as the date of the first land-grant, of the arrival of monks at the site, of the laying of the first stone, of the consecration of the church, or of the canonical erection of the abbey.

39 Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution*, 95, 103–4.

40 The description is borrowed from C. B. Bouchard, *Holy Entrepreneurs: Cistercians, Knights, and Economic Exchange in Twelfth-Century Burgundy* (Ithaca, NY, 1991). For a revisionist interpretation of the Cistercian economic impact, see I. Alfonso, 'Cistercians and feudalism', *Past and Present*, 133 (November 1991), 3–30.

41 Cf. the Henryków Chronicle produced in a Cistercian house in Silesia, which portrayed the monks overcoming wilderness: R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950–1350* (London, 1993), 153–5.

42 Ibid., plate 7.

A related revisionist element is Berman's attempt to explain the rapid growth in the number of Cistercian houses established during the twelfth century. By 1215, the year of the fourth Lateran council that forbade the founding of further new religious orders,[43] more than 500 Cistercian houses, including thirty-four in Ireland, had been formed.[44] The foundation of new communities from scratch by charismatic leaders was not the only, or invariable, pattern for Cistercian expansion; a process of incorporation of independently formed reformist communities also played a significant role.[45] Independently originating houses, which in their early stages could be described as pre-Cistercian, or proto-Cistercian, only gradually began to affiliate formally with Cîteaux and to coalesce into an order. Consequently, incorporation of existing communities and their properties should be acknowledged as a key element of Cistercian expansion. Whether or not one chooses to accept all of Berman's arguments unreservedly,[46] they do have an especial relevance for consideration of Cistercian origins and growth in Ireland since it has long been recognised that, although there were communities like Mellifont, which was formed by a colony of monks going forth in 1142 to inhabit a site with no previous monastic history, there were other Cistercian houses that were located at pre-existing monastic sites, such as Monasterevin (co. Kildare), Kilcooly (co. Tipperary) or Inch (co. Down).[47] Communities at such locations could have had an independent existence prior to incorporation into the Cistercian order, although, because of a lack of sufficient evidence, it can be difficult to gauge whether Cistercian usages were introduced at a monastic site that had been wholly abandoned and had to be reconstituted anew, or were adopted as a reformist strategy by an *in situ* community.

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43 4 Lateran 13 in N. P. Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols (London, 1990), 242.

44 Details in A. Gwynn and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland* (London, 1970), 114–44; R. Stalley, *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland: An Account of the History, Art and Architecture of the White Monks in Ireland from 1142 to 1540* (London, 1987), 7–16, 31–40.

45 For Cistercian absorption of Savigniac houses, see below, pp. 155–60.

46 Berman's thesis has been subjected to criticism, most notably by B. P. McGuire, 'Charity and unanimity: the invention of the Cistercian order: a review article', *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses*, 51 (2000), 285–97; C. Waddell, 'The myth of Cistercian origins: C. H. Berman and the manuscript sources', idem, 299–386; E. Freeman, 'What makes a monastic order? Issues of methodology in *The Cistercian Evolution*', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly*, 37 (2002), 429–42; M. G. Freeman, *Catholic Historical Review*, 87 (2001), 315–16; J. Burton, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 52 (2001), 720–22; C. Bouchard, *Journal of Religion*, 81 (2001), 119–20; J. Van Engen, *Speculum*, 79 (2004), 452–5; more briefly and positively, G. Constable, *English Historical Review*, 115 (2000), 1267–8. See also C. Berman, 'A response to McGuire and Waddell', *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses*, 53 (2002), 333–7; C. Waddell, 'A reply', ibid., 339–44; B. P. McGuire, 'A reply', ibid., 345–6.

47 See M. T. Flanagan, 'Irish royal charters and the Cistercian order' in M. T. Flanagan and J. A. Green (eds), *Charters and Charter Scholarship in Britain and Ireland* (Basingstoke, 2005), 120–39, from which material has been drawn; for Inch, see below, p. 160. This list by no means exhausts the Cistercian communities that were located at pre-existing church sites.

In support of her thesis of gradual evolution of Cistercian institutions, Berman explored the origins and meaning of the term *ordo Cisterciensis* by undertaking a systematic analysis of the very substantial body of charter evidence relating to houses in southern France, broadly in the Provence area, in the first half of the twelfth century. An examination of over 8000 charters dating from the 1130s to the 1250s revealed the near total absence of the occurrence of the term *ordo Cisterciensis* before about 1150. Furthermore, the earliest references to *ordo Cisterciensis*, in Berman's view, signified a particular *ordo monasticus*, or form of the monastic life, rather than institutional structures.[48] Only after about 1150 did *ordo* begin to acquire a new meaning of an organisational institution characterised by the recognisably unifying administrative structures of annual conventions of abbots, binding legislation and a system of regular visitation, or inspection of houses.

The first Irish Cistercian house, founded at Mellifont with the support of monks from Clairvaux, as intimated by Bernard in his Life of Malachy[49] and described in more detail in Bernard's letters to Malachy and his brethren, conformed with the ideal of apostolic gestation insofar as Irish recruits were left by Malachy for training at Clairvaux and their number augmented by others drawn from the Clairvaux community. Bernard's advice to Malachy that he should seek out a location 'far removed from the tumults of the world'[50] is evocative of a wilderness site. Bernard also used familial language: in the Life, he alluded, without naming them, to five daughter-houses (*filiae*) that existed at the time he was writing, but he did not name the implied mother-house.[51] Nor did Bernard offer any details about an organisational link between Clairvaux and Mellifont, nor between Mellifont and its daughter-houses. Referring to a young man who, by universal report, was leading a holy life as the first lay brother (*primus conversus laicus*) of the monastery of *Surium*, Bernard described him as doing so 'according to the *ordo Cisterciensis*'.[52] Bernard's usage in this instance may be said to support an interpretation of *ordo Cisterciensis* as denoting a particular interpretation of the monastic life.[53] In a letter to Malachy Bernard referred to Christianus (Gilla Críst Ua Connairche, who was to become the first abbot of Mellifont and later bishop of Lismore) as having been instructed more fully in the things that belong *ad ordinem* and suggesting to Malachy that, for his house (*domus vestra*), he should persuade *viri religiosi* (which implies existing

48 Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution*, 68–79.

49 *Vita Malachiae*, 345; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 53.

50 Above, p. 121, n. 16.

51 The sole mention of Mellifont is in a chapter heading in *Vita Malachiae*, 339, line 16.

52 *Vita Malachiae*, 369, lines 2–3; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 81. *Surium* (from the river Suir) was the Latin name in the Cistercian filiation-tables for the monastery of Inishlounaght.

53 For the varied usages of *ordo* in Bernard's writings, see G. Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought: The Interpretation of Mary and Martha, the Ideal of the Imitation of Christ, the Orders of Society* (Cambridge, 1995), 296–9; B. P. McGuire, 'Bernard's concept of a Cistercian order', *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses*, 54 (2003), 225–50.

monks) 'and those whom you hope will be useful to the monastery' to join their order (*ad eorum ordinem*) since this would be to its best advantage and would better enable them to pay greater heed to Malachy.[54] The wording in this case suggests the monastic observance within that particular house, recommending indeed a strategy of incorporation of existing monks by their adoption of the *ordo* of Malachy's new foundation. A letter of confraternity written by Bernard to Diarmait Mac Murchada, king of Leinster, that was probably occasioned by Diarmait's land grant for Baltinglass Abbey (co. Wicklow), the foundation of which is dated to 1148 in the Cistercian filiation-tables,[55] indicates a different emphasis. Bernard extended to Diarmait participation in all the good works 'that may be in our house and in our *ordo*'.[56] The context of prayers for the welfare of Diarmait Mac Murchada suggests an interpretation of *ordo* as a liturgical community. The phrase *in ordine nostro* occurs in a letter of confraternity from Bernard to Malachy himself,[57] who, since he was already a bishop, did not become a Cistercian monk, although on Bernard's testimony he would have wished to do so.[58] In the letter of condolence on the occasion of Malachy's death that Bernard wrote to the 'brothers who are in Ireland' he referred to those *congregationes* which Malachy had founded in Ireland, urging them to adhere faithfully to Malachy's 'fatherly ordinances (*paterna instituta*)' and embracing them in spiritual kinship (*spiritalis cognatio*).[59] In relation to the Irish houses, therefore, Bernard's writings exhibit an emphasis on the reciprocity of prayer communities and a notable lack of interest in the assertion of institutional links between Malachy's Irish foundations and either Clairvaux or Cîteaux.

It is, in fact, highly likely that it was the monastic routine and liturgical usages which Malachy had encountered at Clairvaux that he was most concerned in the first instance to introduce into the Irish church. Because of Bernard of Clairvaux's particular emphasis in his Life of Malachy on maintaining a distinction between the active and the contemplative life, he did not elaborate on what attracted Malachy to Cistercian monasticism. He did, however, attest to Malachy's interest in liturgy from the outset of his career and well before he came into contact with the monks of Clairvaux. Bernard described Malachy's activities during the period when he exercised a delegated authority at Armagh from Bishop Cellach:

> Moreover, he ordained the apostolic sanctions and decrees of the
> holy fathers, and especially the customs of the holy Roman church in

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54 *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, viii, 302.
55 Details for the foundation dates of Irish monasteries in Cistercian filiation-tables are given in G. Mac Niocaill, *Na Manaigh Liatha in Éirinn 1141–c. 1600* (Dublin, 1959), 2–19.
56 *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, viii, 513–14.
57 *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, viii, 545–6.
58 *Vita Malachiae*, 343; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 52.
59 *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, viii, 335–7. *Congregatio* is also used in the Vision of Tnugdal to describe the fifty-four houses of monks, canons and nuns established by Malachy: above, p. 123, n. 32.

all (*cunctis*) churches. Hence it is that to this day there is chanting and psalm-singing in them at the canonical hours according to universal custom. For there was little of this done before that, even in the city (*civitas*). He, however, had learnt singing in his youth, and soon he introduced the customs of singing into his monastery (*coenobio*) at a time when no one in the city or in the bishopric (*episcopatus*) knew how to sing, or even cared.[60]

The emphasis on liturgical observances in accordance with universal custom recalls Bishop Gillebertus of Limerick's allusion in his prefatory letter 'to canonical custom in saying the Hours and performing the office of the whole ecclesiastical order … so that the diverse and schismatical *ordines*, with which almost the whole of Ireland is deceived may yield to the one, catholic, and Roman office'.[61] When Malachy went to study with Máel Ísu (Malchus) Ua hAinmire at Lismore he was anxious to learn the form of worship and veneration of the sacraments so that what he himself would teach would be conformity with 'the universal church'.[62] In the sermon preached at Malachy's requiem Bernard described how Malachy, very shortly before his death, was present at Clairvaux at the reburial of the bones of deceased monks in a new cemetery on 1 November 1148: 'As we were bringing in the remains and singing the customary psalms, the holy man kept saying how greatly that chant delighted him (*illo cantu delectari*)'.[63] This highlights how, at the time when Malachy first visited Clairvaux, what would have struck him as distinctively Cistercian would have been its in-house monastic observances and especially its liturgy.

The early Cistercian communities were intent on reforming monastic practice by newly inspired readings of ancient texts: the Rule of Benedict, the Song of Songs, and Sayings of the Desert Fathers. Letters, treatises, sermons and commentaries circulated ideas about monastic charity (*caritas*) and the behaviour of monks and abbots,[64] and the creation of a 'textual community' could precede the elaboration of constitutional documents and institutional structures.[65] The essence of textual communities was less the written text than 'an individual who, having mastered it, then utilised it for reforming a group's thought and action'.[66] Insofar as Cistercian houses were initially affiliated with one another, it was by

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60 *Vita Malachiae*, 315–16, 325–6; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 22, 34. The *civitas* is Armagh. The monastery is presumably that of SS. Peter and Paul at Armagh, the new stone church of which was consecrated by Cellach in 1126. See above, p. 43.

61 Above, p. 79.

62 *Vita Malachiae*, 316, line 15; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 24.

63 *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, v, 418.

64 For the concept of *caritas*, see M. G. Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity: Cistercian Culture and Ecclesiastical Reform* (Stanford, CA, 1996).

65 Cf. B. Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, NJ, 1983), 90, 329, 405, 526.

66 Ibid., 90.

bonds of monastic love. In a letter to Malachy of 1143/4 Bernard propounded that, because of the *caritas* that bound them, there was little need for a multitude of words.[67] In the letter of condolence following Malachy's death Bernard consoled the monks who were Malachy's 'sons' that *caritas* was stronger than death and that they could rely on its endurance after death: Malachy had begged Bernard to remember the monks in Ireland, and therefore Bernard was ready to offer such help as he could through prayer, and in material matters (*in corporalibus*) 'if any opportunity should arise', but he did not overtly claim any supervisory role or authority.[68]

Some idea of what was perceived as distinctive from an Irish perspective about the monastic observances introduced under Malachy's auspices can be gained from contemporary charters, albeit the Irish charter evidence is extremely scant.[69] The earliest extant charter-text for a Cistercian community is that of Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn, king of Cenél nEógain, styled 'king of Ireland', to the monastery of Newry (co. Down) about 1157. The charter is precocious in an Irish context (and more broadly, if Berman's analysis of southern French charters holds true also for the wider European context) in containing a reference to *ordo Cisterciensis*. Muirchertach is stated to have confirmed a series of grants 'to the monks at Newry in honour of Blessed Mary, and St Patrick, and St Benedict, father and founder of the *ordo Cisterciensis*'.[70] Benedict was not, of course, the founder of the Cistercian *ordo*, but he could be described as its father in the sense that the Cistercians followed the Rule of Benedict. This usage of *ordo Cisterciensis* suggests that, to the drafter of the charter, the phrase signified the particular way of life of the monks at Newry: what was distinctive about their Cistercian *ordo* was the use of the Rule of Benedict. There is even a borrowing from the Rule in the phrase which claims that the king would protect the monks *tamquam filios et fidei domesticos*. In chapter 53 of the Rule, 'On the reception of guests', it is advocated that 'all guests to the monastery should be welcomed as Christ because He will say "I was a stranger and you took me in [Matthew, 25:35]". Therefore, show them every courtesy, especially to *fidei domestici* and pilgrims.'[71] It is not certain whom Benedict had intended by the phrase *fidei domestici*, which ultimately derived from the Vulgate version of St Paul's letter to the Galatians (6:10), where he advocated 'let us work good to all men, but especially to those who are in the household of faith'.[72] Benedict probably meant specifically monks.[73] The possible meaning in Muirchertach's charter was that

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67 *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, viii, 301.

68 *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, viii, 335–6.

69 Texts in M. T. Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters: Texts and Contexts* (Oxford, 2005); additional discussion in Flanagan, 'Irish royal charters and the Cistercian order', 120–39.

70 Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters*, 292–3.

71 De Vogüé and Neufville, *La Règle de Saint Benoît*; ii, 612–13.

72 *Operemur bonum ad omnes maxime autem ad domesticos fidei*: *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Clementinam: Nova Editio*; ed. A. Colunga and L. Turrado (Madrid, 1965), 1132.

73 The eminent Benedictine scholar Adalbert de Vogüé argues that *domestici fidei* refers to 'brothers

the monks deserved special protection from the king precisely because of their monastic status. At any rate, it attests to a familiarity on the part of the drafter of Muirchertach's charter with the Rule of Benedict.[74] The charter also expressed the king's aspiration that the monks of Newry would pray for the welfare of his soul, and that he would be able to participate in all the good works, Masses, [liturgical] Hours and prayers that would be offered in the monastery until the end of time. This may be interpreted as an articulation of the benefits of confraternity. *Ordo Cisterciensis* in the Newry charter ought not to be interpreted unambiguously as signifying 'the Cistercian order' in the sense of an administrative organisation. It is significant that the monastery is referred to by its vernacular name, Iubar Cinn Tráchta, not the Latin *Viride Lignum* ('The Green Wood') under which it came to be entered in the Cistercian filiation-tables;[75] and although Newry was to be recorded as a daughter-house of Mellifont in those tables, it is also worth noting the absence from the charter's witness list of the abbot of Mellifont, or of any other Cistercian house.

Liturgical *ordines*, or order of service books, and the customaries that determined the daily routine within the monastery provided the most immediately necessary supplements to the Rule of Benedict for any twelfth-century reformist community wishing to adopt the practices associated with the monks of Cîteaux.[76] Liturgical usages could be introduced before issues about formal relationships between houses need have arisen. In short, a distinction between initial intra-mural adoptions and subsequent extra-mural arrangements ought to be kept in mind in the early stages of a Cistercian foundation.

A feature not only of the charter for the monks of Newry but of all the earliest extant charters in favour of Irish Cistercian houses, or houses that became Cistercian, is a dual dedication to the Virgin Mary and St Benedict. All Cistercian houses were dedicated to Mary,[77] but a dedication that also included

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in the faith' or 'consecrated persons', who should be honoured as guests in a special way, having claims to special rites such as the washing of feet and sharing in the liturgical office: A. de Vogüé, *The Rule of Saint Benedict: A Doctrinal and Spiritual Commentary*, Cistercian Studies, 54 (Kalamazoo, MI, 1983), 264, 267. See also his ' "Honorer tous les hommes": le sens de l'hospitalité bénédictine', *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*, 40 (1964), 129–38 at 135–6, 138, n. 38. Bernard of Clairvaux's sermon preached on Malachy's death described him as *domesticus Dei* (cf. Ephesians, 2:19) because he now dwelt among the saints in heaven: *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, v, 420.

74 A similar conjunction of *peregrini* and *domestici fidei* occurs in *Vita Flannani*, 292, 298. This suggests the hagiographer's familiarity with the Rule of Benedict, unsurprising if the author had *Schottenklöster* connections. See above, p. 93, n. 5.

75 Mac Niocaill, *Na Manaigh Liatha*, 6, 9–10, 19.

76 In the *Summa Cartae Caritatis* the books required for the establishment of a Cistercian abbey are listed as a psalter, hymnal, book of collects, antiphonary, gradual, rule and missal: Waddell, *Narrative and Legislative Texts*, 187.

77 'Because our predecessors and fathers originally came from the church of Molesme, dedicated in honour of blessed Mary, to the place Cîteaux, whence we ourselves originated, we therefore decree that all our churches and those of our successors be founded and dedicated in memory of the same queen of heaven and earth, St Mary: Waddell, *Narrative and Legislative Texts*, 463.

Benedict is more unusual.[78] It suggests that what was initially perceived as distinctive about the Irish houses was their use of the Rule of Benedict. The further addition of St Patrick in the Newry charter also implies that the monks of that community believed they were building on old foundations.[79]

A charter of Diarmait Mac Murchada, king of Leinster, in favour of 'Abbot Felix and the *conventus* of Osraige' (1162×65) affords evidence for what may be termed a pre-Cistercian, or proto-Cistercian, phase in relation to the monastery that became known as Killenny (co. Kilkenny). Diarmait's charter, which is extant as an original, pre-dates by almost twenty years the Cistercian filiation-date of 1180 for that monastic community entered under the name of *Vallis Dei* ('The Valley of God') in the Cistercian filiation-tables.[80] Cistercian incorporation, rather than foundation, appears to be a more appropriate description in the case of this house. The places confirmed in the charter to the *conventus* of Osraige – Cell Lainne and Árd Petráin, as well as two other *Cell* names, one *Dún* name, one *Ráith* name and five *Baile* names – are all name-forms indicative of established settlement and point to the existence of a community prior to the Cistercian filiation-date of 1180.[81] Petrán of Cell Lainne occurs as a saint in genealogical collections, while the name-form Cell Lainne is testimony to an early ecclesiastical foundation.[82] Certainly, the landed endowments confirmed to Abbot Felix and his *conventus* by name only and without detailed boundary descriptors were not uncultivated lands that had to be brought into agricultural use.

Another extant original charter, issued by Domnall Ua Briain, king of Thomond, in favour of 'Abbot Gregory and the monks of Holy Cross', also suggests incorporation of a pre-existing religious community, or, at any rate, endowment with existing church lands. Of the eleven place-names listed in the charter, one has a *Cell* prefix and seven a *Baile* + personal name formation.[83] The first place-name in the list, Cell Uactairlamudni, suggests an early church site, about the origins of which, however, no other information survives. That the latter was the actual location of the monastery is indicated by a letter of protection from King Henry III in 1233 which refers to the monastery of *Sancta Crux de Octerlan*.[84] Mary and Benedict occur alongside the dedication to the Holy

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78 Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters*, 55–6.

79 In 1162 the monastery of Newry, with all its furnishings and books, was burnt 'and also the yew tree which Patrick himself had planted': *AFM*. For the alternative name *Lignum sancti Patricii* ('The Wood of St Patrick'), attested in statutes of the Cistercian general chapter in 1215 and 1216, see Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters*, 296.

80 Referred to in Cistercian documentation as *Vallis Dei*, the earliest attestation of the 'abbey of Killenny' is in William Marshal's charter confirming its incorporation by Duiske Abbey in 1228: C. M. Butler and J. H. Bernard, 'The charters of the Cistercian abbey of Duiske in the county of Kilkenny', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 35C (1918), 1–188 at 48, 53–4.

81 Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters*, 37–60, 253–5.

82 Ibid., 256, n. 8; idem 'Irish royal charters and the Cistercian order', 126–8.

83 Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters*, 308–9; idem 'Irish royal charters and the Cistercian order', 128.

84 Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters*, 309, n. 2.

Cross, the name under which the monastery was entered into the Cistercian filiation-tables with a foundation date of 1181.[85]

Another charter (extant as a fifteenth-century single sheet parchment) of Domnall Ua Briain in favour of 'Gregorius Olanan, *comarba* of Mag Airb' provides yet more explicit evidence for the transformation of a pre-existing monastic site into a Cistercian community that was entered into the Cistercian filiation-tables under the designation *Arvus Campus*, 'The Arable Plain', with a foundation date of 1184.[86] Gregory is also described in the charter as '*comarba* of St Kolmanus', but the Latin *Arvus Campus*, a play on Irish Mag Airb, 'The Rough Plain', is given as the name of the monastery, suggesting that at the time of its drafting a reformist community was already in place at Kilcooly and had adopted the Cistercian practice of coining a Latin designation.[87]

A charter-text (extant in a seventeenth-century transcript) of Diarmait Ua Dímmusaig, king of Uí Failge, in favour of the 'monks of Ros Glais', dates from 1177×81 on the evidence of the witness list, yet the date of foundation of the monastery of *Rosea Vallis* is given with the unusual precision of a full calendar date as 22 October 1189 in the Cistercian filiation-tables.[88] Ros Glais (literally, 'The Green Wood') was an early monastic site whose foundation was attributed to St Éimíne, who was believed to have lived in the seventh century. In 1199 the Cistercian community of *Rosea Vallis* ('The Rosy Valley') – a play on the vernacular *Ros Glais* – sought permission from the Cîteaux general chapter to celebrate the feast of St Éimíne,[89] indicating a desire on its part to retain a link with its pre-Cistercian origins. The seeking of such permission also implies, however, that the community at Monasterevin was well aware that it was augmenting the Cistercian liturgical calendar, and sought authority to do so.

From an Irish perspective, Berman's reinterpretation of the origins and growth of the Cistercian order usefully draws attention to the possible meaning of *ordo Cisterciensis* in Bernard of Clairvaux's Life of Malachy and his letters addressed to Irish recipients, as well as in Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn's charter to Newry around 1157. Highlighting the need to differentiate between the stages by which a particular community became attached to the Cistercian 'order' also helps to explain discrepancies between the issue-dates of charters for houses such as Killenny and Monasterevin and their filiation-dates as entered in the Cistercian tables. On the basis of the admittedly very limited charter evidence that survives, coupled with place-name evidence, incorporation of pre-Cistercian monastic

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85 Mac Niocaill, *Na Manaigh Liatha*, 11.

86 Ibid., 320–21; Flanagan, 'Irish royal charters and the Cistercian order', 128–9.

87 That the transcript dates from the fifteenth century must be emphasised. It is possible that a later copyist inserted *Arvus campus*.

88 Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters*, 344–5; idem 'Irish royal charters and the Cistercian order', 130–31. The identification of the day and month of establishment was generally made in cases where more than one house was founded in the same year.

89 C. Waddell, *Twelfth-Century Statutes from the Cistercian General Chapter*, Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses, Studia et Documenta, 12 (Brecht, 2002), 447.

communities was certainly one means by which Cistercian expansion proceeded in Ireland. Concomitantly, Cistercian houses were not all located in uncultivated wildernesses. The place-names in the charters indicate the incorporation of lands that were already fully under agricultural use and almost certainly tenanted, as the *dún* ('stronghold'), *ráith* ('fortification') and *baile* ('settlement') + personal name formations strongly suggest. Whilst Cistercian land-reclamation activities may have had an impact in bringing previously uncultivated territory under agricultural production in other peripheral areas of Europe, it would be misleading to place too much stress on land reclamation or the colonising activities of Cistercian foundations in Ireland. Incorporation of existing monastic communities was, of course, in itself a reformist strategy. Not having to start a foundation from scratch also brought other advantages, such as accumulated wealth and existing patronage and social ties with local families of benefactors, as evidenced, for example, in the case of Diarmait Ua Dímmusaig, king of Uí Failge, whose ancestors had patronised the early monastery of St Éimíne of Ros Glais and whose successors were to retain links with the Cistercian community that endured into the early sixteenth century.[90]

Highlighting the role of incorporation of existing communities into the Cistercian congregation has more general implications for the interpretation of monastic reform in the twelfth-century Irish church. It alters the balance of reformist impulses to allow greater importance to local initiatives and responses. It places less emphasis on external stimuli and suggests a more significant input from indigenous currents of reform; and it highlights the diversity of monastic traditions out of which Cistercian houses may have developed and the sequential stages by which those houses may have coalesced into an institutional order in Ireland. The introduction of Cistercian observances has been represented as a confrontation between externally generated reformist institutions and obdurately recalcitrant local custom, between Cistercian ideals and Irish divergences that both circumscribed the limits of the reform movement and highlighted particularist tendencies in the Irish church.[91] However, a significant number of Irish houses originated within the existing monastic culture, and perceived Irish aberration may result, in part, from a too early presumption by historians of the articulation of Cistercian administrative structures.

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90 Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters*, 214–16, 223.

91 For 'the pertinacious particularism that was quick to make of the general chapter of the order an irrelevant foreign body', see J. A. Watt, *The Church and the Two Nations in Medieval Ireland* (Cambridge, 1970), 87. Cf. the view that 'in Ireland not many years elapsed before the abbeys assumed an Irish identity, as they were absorbed into the local cultural landscape. Ireland, in fact, presented particular problems to the order, which even the efficient organisation of the Cistercians found difficult to overcome': Stalley, *The Cistercian Monasteries*, 7. The early-thirteenth-century 'conspiracy of Mellifont', unusually well documented because of the survival of Stephen of Lexington's *Registrum*, was not unique to Ireland. For racial tensions and internal disorders in Continental houses, see D. H. Williams, *The Cistercians in the Early Middle Ages* (Leominster, 1998), 57–61.

Irish houses begin to be noticed in the statutes of the Cistercian general chapter only from 1190 onwards. The earliest reference in 1190 decreed that *abbates de Hibernia* need attend the chapter only every fourth year, and that their attendance could be staggered in such a way that at each chapter there should be at least some abbots of Irish houses present, and that the abbot of Mellifont should assume responsibility for arranging such attendance.[92] The earliest reference to a visitation of an Irish house occurs in 1192, when it is reported that the abbot of Mellifont had refused to receive the individual delegated by the abbot of Clairvaux to perform a visitation.[93] A statute passed at the general chapter at Cîteaux in 1195 ordered Irish abbots, who claimed to have received papal privileges that were deemed to be *contra formam ordinis*, to refrain from using them and to bring the dossier of those privileges to the chapter of 1196.[94] These notices suggest that it was from around this time that Cistercian institutional structures began to impact materially on the Irish houses.[95]

The overall polemical thrust of Bernard's Life of Malachy, highlighting the immense difficulties that Malachy had to overcome in order to emphasise his achievements, may exaggerate tensions between reformers and recalcitrants and recidivists. This is not to underestimate the very real opposition that Malachy undoubtedly faced from disaffected parties who stood to lose power and influence, as evidenced, for example, at the established sites of Bangor, Saul, Armagh and Downpatrick,[96] but rather to suggest that historians may be conditioned by Bernard's Life of Malachy to exaggerate oppositional interests and to downplay areas of common ground and mutual clerical respect. A pluralist toleration of different interpretations of the monastic life would have accorded with the Continental acceptance by the mid twelfth century of 'diverse but not adverse' interpretations of the monastic life.[97]

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92 Waddell, *Twelfth-Century Statutes*, 193. A statute in 1184 had exempted from annual attendance abbots from overseas and across the Alps and also abbots from Hungary, Poland and Spain: ibid., 112. The Welsh were excepted on account of the excessive violence in their region: ibid., 117.

93 Ibid., 246.

94 Ibid., 350, 364. In 1184 the chapter had legislated that 'those coming from Ireland or returning from the curia who said themselves to be bishops were not be believed without sure testimony': ibid., 118. This statute may have resulted from experience of rival episcopal candidates travelling to and from the Roman curia, halting at Cîteaux or Clairvaux, where Malachy was buried.

95 Exploration of a distinctively Cistercian architectural style merits separate treatment and cannot be considered here. It should be noted, however, that a lack of uniformity of plan and design has been highlighted for the first generation of Irish houses and the existence of a so-called Bernardine plan, formerly associated with Bernard of Clairvaux, rejected. See R. Stalley, 'Saint Bernard, his views on architecture and the Irish dimension', *Arte Medievale*, 2nd Series, 8, no. 1 (1994), 13–19; T. O'Keeffe, *Romanesque Ireland: Architecture and Ideology in the Twelfth Century* (Dublin, 2003), 104–14. An additional issue is whether the foundation of Irish houses may have slowed temporarily in response to a Cîteaux general chapter prescription against new foundations in 1152. See Waddell, *Narrative and Legislative Texts*, 310–16.

96 Above, p. 119; below, pp. 147–8.

97 In examining the evidence for the continued use of vernacular records alongside the introduction of the Latin charter in the European tradition, Máire Herbert noted that 'there appears to have

The introduction of the customs of Arrouaise

That Malachy was equally drawn to the Augustinian rule as interpreted according to Arrouaisian observances is known from a late-twelfth-century account written at Arrouaise by Abbot Gualterus, who recounted that in the time of his predecessor, Abbot Gervasius (1121–47), Malachy had halted at Arrouaise, inspected its customaries (*consuetudines*) and, approving of its books and *usus ecclesie*, had them transcribed and himself took them to Ireland, and that he judged them to be especially suitable for clergy in cathedral churches (*sedibus episcopalibus*).[98] What were the characteristic Arrouaisian observances augmenting the Rule of Augustine[99] by providing amplification and clarification for the conduct of daily life within Arrouaisian communities that so appealed to Malachy? Equally importantly, was Malachy already familiar with the Augustinian rule before his visit to Arrouaise? Although it has been suggested that when Malachy refounded the abbey of Bangor in 1124 he introduced the Augustinian rule, there is no reliable evidence to that effect. Bernard stated only that Malachy was 'himself both guide and rule (*ipse rector et regula*)' for the monks at Bangor.[100] Bernard's wordplay in this instance relates to the setting of a standard or rule of conduct by example, not a rule of governance.[101] Nor is there any secure evidence that the abbey of SS. Peter and Paul at Armagh was already using the Augustinian rule in the time of Malachy's spiritual mentor, Imar Ua hÁedacáin (*ob.* 1134).[102] There is an almost complete dearth of contemporary sources relating to the introduction of the Augustinian rule at specific locations, such as Armagh, Bangor, St Patrick's Purgatory at Lough Derg,[103] Cong, Gill Abbey in Cork, Roscrea and

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been a pluralist toleration of a range of modes of property documentation at least up to the period of establishment of Anglo-Norman influence towards the end of the twelfth century': M. Herbert, 'Before charters: property records in pre-Anglo-Norman Ireland' in M. T. Flanagan and J. A. Green (eds), *Charters and Charter Scholarship in Britain and Ireland* (London, 2005), 107–19, 115.

98 *Sancte quoque memorie Malachias Hiberniensium archiepiscopus per nos iter faciens, inspectis consuetudinibus nostris et aprobatis, libros nostros et usus ecclesie transcriptos secum in Hiberniam detulit et fere omnes clericos in episcopalibus sedibus et in multis aliis locis per Hiberniam constitutos ordinem nostrum et habitum et maxime divinum in ecclesia offitium suscipere et observare precepit*: Tock, *Monumenta Arroasiensia*, 26–7. It is conceivable that Malachy may have wished to visit the graves of the Irish saints Luglius and Luglianus, who, as mentioned by Abbot Gualterus, were buried at Montdidier near Arrouaise: ibid., 21. For the Life of these two saints, see J. Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland: An Introduction and Guide* (New York, 1929), 510.

99 For the context in which Augustine wrote his Rule, see G. Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo and his Monastic Rule* (Oxford, 1987).

100 *Vita Malachiae*, 323, line 23; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 32.

101 Evans, *Bernard of Clairvaux*, 159.

102 *Pace* J. A. Watt, *The Church in Medieval Ireland*, 2nd edn (Dublin, 1998), 16.

103 The earliest evidence for Augustinian canons at Lough Derg is the reference in the *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*, 1185×90, to St Patrick installing 'canons of the blessed father

other locations which have been claimed as Augustinian from the early twelfth century.[104] Just because those houses may be shown to have followed the Augustinian rule at a subsequent date, sometimes from evidence that is as late as the fifteenth century, does not permit the assumption that they were Augustinian from the early twelfth century. It cannot be emphasised too strongly that the possible use of the Augustinian rule or its route of transmission to Ireland, before Malachy's visit to Arrouaise, remains unknown, and that most of the dates proposed by Aubrey Gwynn and Neville Hadcock in their *Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland* relied on secondary sources, often derived from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century antiquarian scholars such as Sir James Ware and Mervyn Archdall, whose works need to be subjected to modern scholarly scrutiny. This is not to underestimate the inestimable amount of valuable scholarship that went into Gwynn and Hadcock's compilation, but it was actually intended to be used as a first-search resource, not to be relied upon without further recourse to, and evaluation of, the cited sources. The earliest indubitable evidence for the use of the Augustinian rule in Ireland derives from annalistic death-notices for Malachy in 1148 which describe him as having 'renewed the monastic and canonical rules of the Irish church', clearly drawing a distinction between monks and canons.[105] This is also echoed by the description in the Vision of Tnugdal of Malachy as the founder of fifty-four congregations of monks, canons and nuns.[106]

Cistercians were monks, Augustinians were canons and, as such, one of the key differences was that Augustinians were ordained priests and therefore entitled to celebrate the eucharist, whereas monks need not necessarily have been in sacerdotal orders, although increasingly they were so by the twelfth century. How the canonical vocation should be differentiated from the monastic vocation has generated exhaustive discussion among historians.[107] Some have highlighted a distinguishing emphasis between the contemplative and the active life, between ascetic withdrawal from the world by monks and the more vocational provision of pastoral care and preaching within lay society by canons, or, in the analogy

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Augustine who were leading an apostolic life': R. Easting (ed.), *St Patrick's Purgatory: Two Versions of Owayne Miles and the Vision of William of Stranton together with the Long Version of the Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*, Early English Text Society, 298 (Oxford, 1991), 124; J.-M. Picard and Y. de Pontfarcy, *Saint Patrick's Purgatory: A Twelfth-Century Tale of a Journey to the Otherworld* (Blackrock, Co. Dublin, 1985), 48. For Augustinian communities at Saul and Knock prior to Malachy's death in 1148, see below, pp. 147–8; and at Ferns *ca* 1162, below, p. 146.

104 Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 146–200.

105 *CS* 1148. In the death-notices in *AT* and *AFM* the emphasis is on Malachy's role as bishop and papal legate, not monastic reformer.

106 Above, p. 123, n. 32.

107 Among a vast literature, see the collection of essays in *La Vita Comune del Clero nei Secoli XI e XII: Atti della Settimana di Studio: Mendola, Settembre 1959*, 2 vols, Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali, 2, 3 (Milan, 1962); Constable, *The Reformation*, 54–8; C. N. L. Brooke, 'Monk and canon: some patterns in the religious life of the twelfth century' in his *Churches and Churchmen in Medieval Europe* (London, 1999), 213–31.

offered by Pope Urban II, between Martha and Mary, between love of neighbour alongside love of God.[108] Others have sought to discern a difference in their spirituality. From the outset it should be acknowledged that canonical usages and institutions varied widely between the moderate and the strict and also underwent changes in the course of the twelfth century, with many canons moving closer to contemplative monastic ideals and leading a full monastic life. The Arrouaisian observances promoted by Malachy were at the more austere, and therefore most contemplative, end of the Augustinian spectrum, more in the mould of Mary than Martha. Since the 1970s there has been an attempt to shift discussion away from the practices of the canons to a focus on their interior life and spirituality. Most notably, it has been argued that an essential difference between monks and canons lay in their educational commitment 'to teach by word and by example'.[109] Based on a study of treatises of practical spiritual advice composed by canons for canons, Caroline Walker Bynum endeavoured to isolate a specifically canonical outlook, and propounded that canons emphasised 'teaching by word and example'; and that they did so because they were clergy by definition, which monks were not. In essence, the Rule of Augustine by the twelfth century was understood to have been written pre-eminently for ordained clergy. In Bynum's view, it was not differences in the communal way of life of the Augustinians,[110] nor varying degrees of austerity, nor a stronger attachment to preaching, pastoral and caritative work, but rather a concern to edify by example that exemplified the canonical life and distinguished canons from other monks. 'What is new and distinctive about the canons as a group is not their actions or the rights they claimed. It is simply the quality of their awareness, their sense of responsibility for the edification of their fellow men.'[111] By that interpretation,

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108 R. W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth 1972), 244. On the application of the distinctive roles of Mary and Martha to the monastic life, see Constable, *Three Studies*, 35–43. Cf. Conchubranus's Life of Monenna, which described her as following the example of Mary by choosing the good part in sitting at the feet of the Lord: Ulster Society for Medieval Latin Studies, 'The life of St Monenna by Conchubranus edited by the Ulster Society for Medieval Latin Studies', *Seanchas Ard Mhacha*, 9 (1978–9), 258–9.

109 C. Walker Bynum, *Docere Verbo et Exemplo: An Aspect of Twelfth-Century Spirituality*, Harvard Theological Studies, 31 (Missoula, MT, 1979); eadem, 'The spirituality of regular canons in the twelfth century' in her *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, CA, 1982), 22–58. For reservations, see Brooke, 'Monk and canon', 233.

110 'No evidence has yet been presented to demonstrate that the actual life lived in most canonical houses in the twelfth century differed generally from the life of most monastic cloisters': Bynum, 'The spirituality of regular canons', 28. The architectural layout of the communal buildings of Cistercians and Augustinians, centred on a cloister, would indeed have looked very similar to contemporaries in twelfth-century Ireland, although it is argued that there is no evidence for the adoption of a claustral plan for Augustinian communities prior to Anglo-Norman intervention. See T. O'Keeffe, *An Anglo-Norman Monastery: Bridgetown Priory and the Architecture of the Augustinian Canons Regular in Ireland* (Cork, 1999), 107–18.

111 Bynum, 'The spirituality of regular canons', 57–8.

Malachy's interest in the observances of Arrouaise could be regarded not simply as the introduction of a new communal religious observance, but also as the provision of a 'mirror and model'[112] that would be available for re-shaping the lives and raising the overall standards of clergy in the Irish church.

Why might Malachy have considered the Arrouaisian observances to be especially suitable for clergy in cathedral churches? According to Bernard of Clairvaux, when Malachy resigned the see of Armagh in 1136 to become bishop of Down he immediately concerned himself with establishing a community of regular clerics (*conventus regularium clericorum*); and he did so 'for his solace' and 'to arm himself with the humility of holy poverty, the rigour of communal discipline, the leisure of contemplation, and the application of prayer'.[113] Neither at this point nor subsequently did Bernard indicate what form of communal rule or discipline was instituted by Malachy. If the reference to *conventus regularium clericorum* may indicate that Malachy already had a rule for regular clergy such as, for example, the Augustinian rule, it would still remain to explain why as a result of his visit to Arrouaise in 1139/40 Malachy sought to promote specifically the Arrouaisian observances.

Linking a community of regular canons with an episcopal household could advance a number of reformist strategies. In imitation of the *vita apostolica*, the bishop's income portion of the see, the *mensa episcopalis*, would be held in common with that of the community of canons.[114] This appears to have been the arrangement in place at the early church site of Louth,[115] where Malachy introduced the first community of Arrouaisian canons shortly after the cathedral church of the diocese of Airgialla was moved from Clogher to Louth.[116] That shift in location may have occurred either prior to the death in 1138 of Malachy's brother, Bishop Gilla Críst (Christianus), or following Malachy's return from his Continental journey in 1140, when he had been appointed resident papal legate in Ireland, an office that would have invested him with the authority to move the episcopal see.[117] In any case, the relocation of the see from Clogher to Louth

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112 Above, p. 102, n. 61.

113 *Vita Malachiae*, 339; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 48. The community of regular clerics may have been located at Bangor rather than Down. For evidence of the hereditarily entrenched Uí Cathasaig and Uí Cairill at Down, see p. 106, n. 85.

114 For the *vita apostolica* as *vita communis*, see above, pp. 95–6, 101–2.

115 Louth was reputedly founded by a British missionary, Mochta, a contemporary of Patrick: R. Sharpe, 'Saint Mauchteus, *discipulus Patricii*' in A. Bammesberger and A. Wollmann (eds) *Britain 400–600: Language and History* (Heidelberg, 1990), 85–93.

116 For the argument that the first Arrouaisian community was established at Louth in 1142, see M. T. Flanagan, 'St Mary's Abbey, Louth, and the introduction of the Arrouaisian observance into Ireland', *Clogher Record*, 10 (1980), 223–34.

117 The fact that Malachy's brother, Gilla Críst, is described as 'bishop of Louth' in the Vision of Tnugdal and also in Thomas Case's fifteenth-century annals derived from a set of Cistercian annals from St Mary's Abbey, Dublin, may indicate that the shift from Clogher to Louth had occurred before the latter's death in 1138; however, it could simply reflect the reality at the time of composition of the Vision in 1149. See *Visio Tnugdali*, *55, *Vision of Tnugdal*, 155; Gilbert,

would have raised the issue of how the episcopal household at the new cathedral church was to be organised. On the evidence of two original charters, dating from the 1180s and 1190s, the community of canons at St Mary's Abbey, Louth, served as the cathedral chapter of the diocese. A quit-claim to the Anglo-Norman Peter Pippard, under the separate seals of Cristinus (Gilla Críst Ua Maccaráin), bishop of Louth (*ca* 1187–93), and Thomas, prior of St Mary's, Louth, and the whole convent of that place, was issued 'with the assent and common council of the whole of our chapter'.[118] The charter granted to Peter Pippard the right of presentation to the churches of Clonkeen and Drumcar with all dues (*exaccio*) pertaining to the church of Louth, excepting one-third of the tithes of grain that was to continue to be paid to St Mary's, Louth. A subsequent charter from Donatus, prior of the church of Louth, and the entire convent of that place, to Roger Pippard likewise was issued 'with the assent and common counsel of the entire chapter'.[119] The extant seal attached to Donatus's charter is not that of the convent, but of the chapter of the church of St Mary's Abbey: the legend reads: *S[igillum] C[apitu]li canonicorum S[an]c[t]e Marie de Lugue*. It may thus be deduced that at Louth the bishop served as titular head of the abbey, while the canons were ruled more directly by a prior, and the cathedral chapter was drawn from the community of canons of St Mary's, Louth,[120] and had the right to elect the bishop of the diocese.

Admittedly, the two charters which afford clear evidence for the arrangement at Louth are later than Malachy's time, but that it may have dated back to his initiative may be posited for a number of reasons. The Lateran council convened by Pope Innocent II in 1139 that had occasioned Malachy's first journey to the Continent, and its decrees, which he would have studied carefully since, as newly appointed resident papal legate, he was charged with responsibility for their dissemination to the Irish church, had accorded a role in episcopal elections to *viri religiosi* – that is, to monks – although no details were laid down as to how that was to be effected.[121] The same pope who promulgated that decree was

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Chartularies of St Mary's, ii, 258; above, p. 3, n. 11. Gilla Críst was described as 'bishop of Clogher' in his death-notice in *AFM* 1138, where, however, the seventeenth-century compilers could have reworded an earlier entry.

118 NLI D. 13; calendared in E. Curtis (ed.), *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1172–1350*, Irish Manuscripts Commission (Dublin, 1932), no. 12; H. J. Lawlor, 'A charter of Cristin, bishop of Louth', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 32C (1913–15), 28–40. The seals are no longer extant but are referred to in the text of the charter.

119 NLI D. 10; calendared in Curtis, *Ormond Deeds*, no. 9; H. J. Lawlor, 'A charter of Donatus, prior of Louth', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 32C (1913–15), 313–23 (with photographic plate of the seal).

120 They were not necessarily the same body: not all of the canons may have been members of the chapter.

121 2 Lateran 28 in Tanner, *Decrees*, 203. For the view that the '"religious men" were undoubtedly the abbots and leading clergy of the diocese', see R. L. Benson, 'Election by community and chapter: reflections on co-responsibility in the historical church', *The Jurist*, 54 (1971), 54–80 at 73. Almost immediately, this decree was clarified in Gratian's *Decretum* as 'without the counsel

prepared to accord a role to Bernard of Clairvaux as a consultee in episcopal elections. As already noted, over the course of his life Bernard intervened in, or influenced, at least fourteen episcopal elections in a variety of ways.[122] In some cases he did no more than write a letter in favour of one candidate or praise a prospective candidate to a pope or king. In other instances he waged a full-scale campaign, often by promoting a Cistercian monk as his protégé. Such was the case at Langres, when a dispute between two factions of the cathedral chapter turned into a contest between Clairvaux and Cluny for control of the episcopal see. When the chapter ignored papal instructions to consult Bernard and elected a monk from Cluny, Bernard appealed to Rome and Innocent II ordered a new election, whereupon in 1138 the chapter elected Geoffrey, prior of Clairvaux. Bernard intervened in similar fashion in a disputed election at Auxerre. After the cathedral chapter failed to reach a clear decision on three occasions, the pope asked Bernard to choose the bishop: in 1140 he selected a former monk of Clairvaux, Alain, abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Larrivour. Bernard was similarly active in determining the election of the Cistercian abbot, Henry Murdac (*ob.* 1153), to the see of York.[123]

Disputed episcopal elections undoubtedly occurred in the twelfth-century Irish church. On Bernard's own testimony, Malachy intervened to secure the election of a bishop at Cork 'when the parties could not agree and, as so often happens, each side had its own prelate in mind, not God's'.[124] Using his powers as papal legate, Malachy chose a candidate himself. A desire to secure canonically valid episcopal elections that would be free from secular pressures and hereditarily entrenched family monopolies (such as Malachy himself had encountered, first as abbot of Bangor and subsequently as bishop of Connor (1124–32), archbishop of Armagh (1132–6) and bishop of Down (1136–48)), may have been one reason why Malachy judged the introduction of communities of regular canons to be particularly appropriate for *sedes episcopales*. An electoral chapter that was drawn from a community of canons could be deployed as a means of ensuring canonically valid episcopal elections which would be free from external pressures and would help to avoid disputed elections.

Due weight should also be accorded to the fact that, in imitation of the *vita apostolica*, the episcopal *mensa* would be shared in common between the bishop

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of religious men, the canons of the superior church shall not elect a bishop' – that is, the prerogative of election is accorded solely to the canons, with a right of consultation and assent attributed to *viri religiosi*. This may explain why in 1201 the abbot of Mellifont turned up apparently armed with a papal privilege which gave him 'first voice' in the election of the archbishop of Armagh: *abbas de Mellifonte qui privilegium demonstrabat se primam in electione vocem habere*: Sheehy, *Pontificia*, i, no. 52.

122 Above, p. 105.
123 J. Burton, 'Murdac, Henry, archbishop of York' in *ODNB*, xxxix, 805–7.
124 *Vita Malachiae*, 335–6; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 65–6; above, p. 107. For disputed elections at Dublin in 1121 and Limerick in 1140, see M. T. Flanagan, *Irish Society, Anglo-Norman Settlers, Angevin Kingship: Interactions in Ireland in the Late Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1989), 30–31.

and a community of canons. Corporate austerity could replace private posses-
sions and obviate control by individuals of portions of the landed estate of a
church diverted to provide an income to the incumbent. Appropriation and
privatisation of church property had everywhere impeded the progress of reform.
The Lateran council in 1139 had decreed that 'the goods of deceased bishops
were not to be seized by anyone at all, but were to remain freely at the disposal of
the treasurer and the clergy for the needs of the church and the succeeding incum-
bent'.[125] That this had not been respected in the see of Dublin is evidenced by the
fact that around 1102 Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, felt obliged to write to
Samuel Ua hAingliu, bishop of Dublin, pointing out that the books, vestments
and other church ornaments that had been given by Anselm's predecessor,
Lanfranc, to Samuel's predecessor, his uncle, Donngus (Donatus) Ua hAingliu,
had not been a personal gift, but had been intended for the use of the church of
Dublin.[126] Confusion was not unusual between the personal property of a bishop,
the material goods that he had brought to the see upon his appointment or which
had been given to him during his term in office, and the assets that properly
belonged to the church itself. Communities of Arrouaisian canons at episcopal
sees would have afforded one means of ensuring that property vested in an epis-
copal see would not be alienated and would have promoted more rigorous
enforcement of that particular decree of the second Lateran council. Crucially
also, communally held as opposed to private property precluded nepotism, the
passing on of an ecclesiastical benefice or office to a kinsman; and linked to
nepotism was what came to be seen by reformers as a concomitant of married
clergy.

At its simplest, canons may be defined as collegiate clergy. By the early
twelfth century, in a development that remains largely obscure, a distinction
between 'secular' and 'regular' canons had emerged. The term 'regular canon'
referred to individuals who followed a rule (*regula*) and lived a full common life
with no personal property. Collegiate clergy who did not meet those require-
ments were termed 'secular'.[127] It is problematic to identify a group within the
pre-twelfth-century Irish church who might be classed as 'secular' canons; and,
in that respect, the introduction by Malachy of regular canons to cathedral
churches arguably was more radical than the introduction of Cistercian obser-
vances, since, in any case, the Rule of Benedict was not unknown in Ireland
before the arrival of Cistercian monasticism[128] and had long been used by Irish

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125 2 Lateran 5 in Tanner, *Decrees*, 197.
126 *Sancti Anselmi Opera*, iv, 192; *Letters of St Anselm*, ii, no. 278.
127 C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250*, Oxford History of the
    Christian Church (Oxford, 1989), 74–8, 105–61.
128 In the list comparing Irish and non-Irish saints Fintan of Clonenagh is likened to Benedict, *caput
    monachorum totius Europae*: R. I. Best, O. Bergin, and M. A. O'Brien, *Book of Leinster
    Formerly Lebar na Núachongbála*, 6 vols, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (Dublin,
    1956–83), vi, 1683. For Benedictines at Holy Trinity, Dublin, and St Mary's Abbey, Dublin, see
    below, pp. 144, 155, 236. For reflexes of the Rule of Benedict in Irish texts that pre-date the

monks on the Continent.[129] Those in the Irish church who came closest to the lifestyle of unreformed secular canons on the Continent were the residentiary individuals or families who claimed clerical privilege while at the same time being married and enjoying personal property, such as the Clann Sínaich at Armagh, who appropriated church lands and incomes, lived their lives as married men and did not necessarily participate in a communal daily liturgy. In relation to arrangements at Armagh during the episcopate of Áed Ua Foirréid, as illustrated in a praise poem composed in his honour 1032×43, Richard Sharpe remarked that Armagh 'could perfectly well be a cathedral church with a cathedral priory attached to it'.[130] Although the poem praises Áed for his seven ecclesiastical grades, his celibacy and his learning, it has nonetheless a secular tone, its stereotyped metaphors suggestive of its recitation at a feast, most probably at Easter, to which there are two passing allusions.[131] A number of those mentioned as present, such as 'Amalgaid, abbot of Ireland' – that is, head of the church of Armagh – were certainly married men. By contrast, individual renunciation of private possessions and the embracing of corporate austerity exemplified the 'humility of holy poverty' that in Bernard's view had personified Malachy's lifestyle.[132] The second Lateran council of 1139 had stressed the importance of bishops and clergy taking pains to give good example both by their interior and exterior comportment. They were to give no offence in the sight of those for whom they ought to be a model and example, but rather they were to exhibit holiness by the cut, colour and restraint of their clothes:[133] in other words, 'to teach by word and example'. What characterised Arrouaisian customs was the strictness and austerity of its observance. Augustinian canons following Arrouaisian usages at specifically cathedral churches would not only have furthered the aspiration of good example in relation to the episcopal household but more generally would have offered an emulatory model for the secular clergy of the diocese.

Exemplary lifestyle and corporate property were undoubtedly important, but there was also a liturgical dimension to Malachy's interest in Arrouaisian observances. Abbot Gualterus stated that Malachy had especially ordered the divine office as observed at Arrouaise to be used at episcopal sees.[134] It has been argued

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twelfth century, see C. Ó Clabaigh, 'The Benedictines in medieval and early modern Ireland' in M. Browne and C. Ó Clabaigh (eds), *The Irish Benedictines: A History* (Blackrock, Co. Dublin, 2005), 79–121 at 80–82.

129 D. Ó Cróinín, 'A tale of two rules: Benedict and Columbanus', in M. Browne and C. Ó Clabaigh (eds), *The Irish Benedictines: A History* (Blackrock, Co. Dublin, 2005), 11–24; D. Ó Riain-Raedel, 'Irish Benedictine monasteries on the continent', in M. Browne and C. Ó Clabaigh (eds), *The Irish Benedictines: A History* (Blackrock, Co. Dublin, 2005), 25–63.

130 R. Sharpe, 'Churches and communities in early medieval Ireland: towards a pastoral model' in J. Blair and R. Sharpe (eds), *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester, 1992), 103.

131 G. Murphy, 'A poem in praise of Aodh Úa Foirréid' in S. O'Brien (ed.), *Measgra i gCuimhne Mhichíl Uí Cléirigh* (Dublin, 1944), 140–63. For references to Easter, see §§ 7, 29.

132 Above, p. 104.

133 2 Lateran 4 in Tanner, *Decrees*, 197.

134 Above, p. 136, n. 98.

that there is no evidence to show that any cathedral chapter existed in Ireland before Anglo-Norman intervention in 1169 and that Malachy's 'emphasis was on monastic reform rather than on diocesan organisation'.[135] Yet in his Life of Malachy Bernard of Clairvaux quite deliberately presented Malachy as an exemplary pastoral bishop. At the very least, the strong circumstantial evidence for the introduction of Arrouaisian observances at Louth at the time of the transfer of the see of the Airgiallan diocese from Clogher to Louth has been overlooked. It is nonetheless difficult to gauge how many cathedral churches might have adopted Arrouaisian usages during the lifetime of Malachy. In the case of the see of Dublin, the introduction of Arrouaisian observances followed the consecration as archbishop in 1162 of Lorcán Ua Tuathail, abbot of the community of St Kevin, Glendalough. According to Thomas Case's early-fifteenth-century annals, derived from annals of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin, Lorcán despatched two of his canons to Rome 'concerning the *usus* and *consuetudo* of the *ordo* of Arrouaise'.[136] They went to Rome not to secure texts but rather to gain papal approval for the adoption of Arrouaisian usages in the cathedral church of Dublin. Thereafter, Lorcán himself, according to his early-thirteenth-century Life, assumed the habit and way of living of a regular canon and followed a demonstrably more ascetic lifestyle. The annal phrase that he dispatched 'two of his canons' to Rome is ambiguous, in that it does not specifically state that they were pre-existing canons of Holy Trinity; however, according to another set of annals and to his Life, Lorcán transformed the 'secular clerics who were in the cathedral church of Holy Trinity' into regular canons.[137] In the time of Bishop Samuel Ua hAingliu (1096–1121) there would appear to have been a monastic community at Holy Trinity, the expulsion of which was one of the complaints levelled by Anselm against Samuel.[138] The circumstances in which those monks might have been replaced by secular canons remain unknown.[139] If such a change had taken place, it would probably have been wise for Lorcán to secure papal

135 A. Empey, 'Introduction' in S. Kinsella (ed.), *Augustinians at Christ Church: The Canons Regular of the Cathedral of Holy Trinity, Dublin*, Christ Church Studies, 1 (Dublin, 2000), 4.

136 *De suis canonicis duos misit Romam propter usum et consuetudinem Arroacensis ordinis per quos desiderium suum auctoritate summi pontificis adimpletum est*: Gilbert, *Chartularies of St Mary's*, ii, 266.

137 C. Plummer, 'Vie et miracles de S., archevêque de Dublin', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 33 (1914), 138. The extracts made by Sir James Ware from a set of annals with a Dublin focus and Cistercian interest in its early section have the same entry concerning the introduction of Arrouaisian canons at Holy Trinity, but adds *ubi antea fuerant canonici seculares*: Gilbert, *Chartularies of St Mary's*, ii, 287. For these annals, see above, p. 3, n. 11.

138 *Monachos qui in ipsa ecclesia ad serviendum Deo congregati erant*: *Sancti Anselmi Opera*, iv, 192; *Letters of St Anselm*, ii, no. 278.

139 They are most likely to have followed the Rule of Benedict, since Samuel had been a monk in St Albans and Donngus; his predecessor, who was also his uncle, had been trained at Canterbury. There could have been ambiguity about the role of the bishop's personal household and a monastic community. It is conceivable that monks might have formed the episcopal household of the first bishop, Dúnán (*ob.* 1074).

approval for the introduction of Arrouaisian usages. Although there is no evidence of resistance to Lorcán's innovation, the very fact that he sought endorsement from the pope indicates a determination on his part to secure the transformation that he sought. One consequence of Lorcán's introduction of regular canons at Holy Trinity, according to his Life, was the establishment of *regulares cantores circa altare* so that they could praise the Holy Name.[140] In other words, the Life emphasised the contribution by the Arrouaisian canons to the celebration of the liturgy.

Not only liturgical but also institutional change may have been effected by the introduction of Arrouaisian observances at Holy Trinity, Dublin. Thereafter, Lorcán held the episcopal *mensa* of the see of Dublin in common with the canons of Holy Trinity, as intimated in his Life, which stressed that Lorcán ate with the canons in the refectory.[141] It is also fortuitously evidenced in two extant original charters that date from around 1177. The convent of canons of the church of Holy Trinity granted, with Lorcán's counsel and consent, Killester (north co. Dublin) and its appurtenances to William Brun for an annual rent of a half-ounce of gold payable on the altar of the church of Holy Trinity on the feast of St Michael (29 September). At the same time Lorcán, in his capacity as archbishop, issued a confirmation to William Brun of the charter given by 'the canons of Holy Trinity with the consent and counsel of the entire chapter'.[142]

Lorcán's choice of the Arrouaisian observances for his cathedral church has been described as 'at best somewhat enigmatic'; it has been argued that it was 'improbable that Holy Trinity was imitating developments elsewhere in Ireland'.[143] It is only enigmatic, however, if Malachy is considered to have been concerned primarily with monastic reform and to have had no impact on the formation of episcopal households and cathedral clergy, which certainly also downplays Malachy's role as papal legate. In any case, there is evidence for Lorcán's association with Áed Ua Cáellaide, bishop of Louth, 'and his canons'. Áed, on the testimony of Bernard of Clairvaux, had been Malachy's personal choice to succeed his own brother, Gilla Críst, as bishop in Airgialla.[144] Around 1162 Áed was instrumental in the establishment of All Hallows Priory in the city of Dublin which followed Arrouaisian usages: Diarmait Mac Murchada, king of Leinster, granted to Áed the estate of Baldoyle outside the city of Dublin *ad opus canonicorum*, a grant that was to constitute the home farm of All Hallows which

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140 Plummer, 'Vie et miracles de S. Laurent', 138.

141 *Cum eisdem canonicis in refectorio comedabat*: Plummer, 'Vie et miracles de S. Laurent', 138. When he lay dying at Eu and was urged to make a will, he replied that he had no need to do so since he possessed nothing: ibid., 154.

142 M. P. Sheehy, 'Diplomatica: unpublished medieval charters and letters relating to Ireland', *Archivium Hibernicum*, 25 (1962), 126–8. The witness lists of both charters include the prior, sub-prior and sacristan of Holy Trinity. A confirmation of the canons' charter was issued by the papal legate, Cardinal Vivian, at Dublin in 1177: ibid., 126.

143 Empey in Kinsella, *Augustinians at Christ Church*, 4.

144 *Vita Malachiae*, 341; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 48.

was located within the city.[145] The list of witnesses for Diarmait's charter was headed by Lorcán, recently elected archbishop of Dublin, whose name is followed by both the bishop and abbot of Glendalough. There is no evidence to suggest that the Augustinian rule was already in use at Glendalough at the time of Lorcán's translation to the see of Dublin in 1162. It appears rather that it was he who introduced it in its Arrouaisian form at Glendalough after he became archbishop; this would serve to explain how the bishop and abbot of Glendalough acted as witnesses for Diarmait Mac Murchada's charter to Bishop Áed and his canons.[146]

Just how many cathedral churches, in addition to Louth, might have been influenced by Malachy's promotion of the Arrouaisian observances is difficult to gauge given the paucity of evidence. A charter of Diarmait Mac Murchada issued before 1162 attests to the adoption of the Augustinian rule at Ferns, an early church site associated with St Máedóc (*ob.* 625) that had been chosen at the synod of Ráith Bressail as the location of the see of the diocese of Ferns, which was coterminous with the Mac Murchada patrimonial kingdom of Uí Chennselaig. Diarmait's charter specifically granted freedom of abbatial election according to the rule of St Augustine to the conventual community at Ferns.[147] The list of witnesses was headed by Joseph Ua hÁeda, bishop of Ferns. There is no mention, however, of Arrouaisian usages, nor later evidence which indicates that those specific customs were in use at Ferns. What is clear from the charter-text is that the community was subject to episcopal authority since the bishop was to be responsible for the installation of the abbot, following his free election by the community and the assent, as founder, of Diarmait, or his heirs.

It has been suggested that Malachy, in travelling from the Scottish royal court into England in 1139, would have taken a route via Carlisle where he would have encountered a cathedral church with an Augustinian community,[148] thus providing even before he reached the Continent the first stimulus for his interest in introducing the Augustinian rule at cathedral churches. An Augustinian priory had been established at Carlisle 1122×23, while the episcopal see of Carlisle was created in 1133. Its first bishop, Athelwold, was an Augustinian canon, prior of St Oswald's, Nostell (Yorks.) since 1122, but also concurrently the first prior of

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145 Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters*, 270–71. The phrase *ad opus* was generally used in cases where A gave land to B for the use of C. F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland, *The History of English Law Before the Time of Edward I*, 2 vols, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1923), ii, 228–30.

146 Benedictine rather than Augustinian influence at Glendalough prior to 1162 may be suggested by the annalistic death-notice of Gilla na Náem Laignech, bishop of Glendalough, 'and afterwards head of the monks of Würzburg', who died on 7 April 1161: Above, p. 97. This may indicate a previous connection with that house, unless his episcopal office was a determining factor: it is conceivable that a retired resident bishop may have been useful in enabling the Würzburg community to be independent of the services of the local diocesan.

147 Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters*, 97–102, 284–5.

148 J. Wilson, 'The passages of St Malachy through Scotland', *Scottish Historical Review*, 18 (1921), 69–82 at 72, 74, 80, 81; P. J. Dunning, 'The Arroasian order in medieval Ireland', *Irish Historical Studies*, 4 (1945), 297–315 at 301–2.

Carlisle, a strategy which may have been intended as a preliminary step towards facilitating the creation of a bishopric in Cumbria, an area that was in dispute between the English and Scottish kingdoms.[149] Two years after Athelwold's consecration as bishop of Carlisle, David I, king of Scots (1124–53), annexed Carlisle, transforming it for all intents and purposes into a Scottish see. The Scottish hold on the region endured until 1157, which was also, coincidentally, the year of Athelwold's death. Although David I's seizure of Carlisle may initially have impacted adversely on Athelwold's position, no later than 1138 he was back in his diocese, his return having been negotiated by the papal legate, Alberic.[150] Thereafter, Athelwold was to be found at the Scottish court, witnessing charters for David I not only at Carlisle but also at Edinburgh and Bamburgh.[151] In a charter issued by 'Adeloldus, bishop of Carlisle', which has been dated 6×25 December 1138 and survives in the chartulary of Arrouaise, Athelwold gave consent to his *fratres* in the church of Carlisle to choose a prior and to affiliate with Arrouaise.[152] Athelwold also confirmed the free election of the prior, who was to promise obedience to the bishop; he was to attend the chapter of St Nicholas in the following year and be subject to its correction. Athelwold's charter, however, attests only to the *aspiration* of affiliation with Arrouaise and there is no other trace of a connection between Carlisle and Arrouaise. The proposal, if it ever got off the ground, proved short-lived. What Athelwold and Malachy would certainly have shared was an interest in the organisation of recently constituted dioceses. If the postulated date of December 1138 for Bishop Athelwold's charter is reliable, it may therefore be the case that Malachy could have discussed with Bishop Athelwold the suitability of having Arrouaisian canons attached to a cathedral church.

   Malachy did not confine the introduction of the Augustinian rule to cathedral churches. Bernard of Clairvaux provides a passing reference to the construction of a monastery at Saul by Malachy, implying that no monastic buildings existed there at that time.[153] Saul was an early church site associated with St Patrick, who, according to the earliest Patrician hagiography, had received it from a naturally good pagan, Díchu, Patrick's first convert in Ulaid, but little is known of a continuous institutional history at Saul.[154] Annalistic entries bear out Bernard's statement

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149 H. Summerson, 'Athelwold, bishop of Carlisle' in *ODNB*, ii, 807–8; D. M. Smith (ed.), *English Episcopal Acta, 30: Carlisle, 1133–1292* (Oxford, 2005), xxxv–xxxvi; R. Sharpe, *Norman Rule in Medieval Cumbria, 1092–1136*, Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Tract Series, 21 ([Carlisle], 2006), 57–66.

150 H. Tillmann, *Die Päpstlichen Legaten in England bis zur Beendigung der Legation Gualas (1218)* (Bonn, 1926), 40.

151 Smith, *English Episcopal Acta, 30*, 207–8.

152 Tock, *Monumenta Arroasiensia*, no. 21; Milis, *L'Ordre des Chanoines*, 600–601; Smith, *English Episcopal Acta, 30*, 2.

153 *Vita Malachiae*, 368; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 80. Cf. *Vita Malachiae*, 351, line 18, *St Malachy the Irishman*, 61, where Malachy cured a woman at Saul.

154 For physical remains, see A. E. Hamlin, *The Archaeology of Early Christianity in the North of Ireland*; ed. T. R. Kerr, BAR British Series, 460 (2008), 321–3.

that Malachy had established a religious community at Saul: there is an incidental mention of the church of Saul being spared from attack during a marauding expedition into Ulaid by Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn, king of Cenél nEógain, in 1149, by which date Malachy's community would have been installed, while the death of Máel Máedóc Mac Dubradáin, 'abbot of the canons of Saul', is recorded in 1156.[155] In 1170 the canons of Saul suffered a serious attack:

> The congregation of regular canons whom Malachy had instituted at Saul were expelled from the monastery that they themselves had built, and were despoiled of their books, furniture, cattle, sheep, horses, and all that they had collected there since Malachy's time, and were obliged to flee taking with them nothing but the habits and capes that they were wearing.[156]

The perpetrators were Magnus Mac Duinn Sléibe, king of Ulaid, and Amlaíb, son of the *comarba* of Finnian – that is, of the church of Movilla – in other words, the son of a non-celibate head of a church who may be presumed to have been a member of one of those hereditarily entrenched ecclesiastical families which had most to lose from the introduction of reformist institutions.[157] Disassociated from this assault were Bishop Máel Ísu (of Down), Gilla Domangairt Mac Cormaic, successor of Comgall – that is, abbot of Bangor – and Máel Martain, successor of Finnian – that is, abbot of Movilla. Amlaíb is described as a monk who had been deposed from an unnamed abbacy by the 'monks of Droiched Átha' – that is, Mellifont.[158] He may have been an unsuccessful bidder for the abbacy of Movilla, or the abbacy of Saul, or possibly even of Mellifont. In 1175 the same Amlaíb endeavoured to intrude himself into the bishopric of Ulaid. That attempted intrusion is, incidentally, an indication that ecclesiastical leadership in the diocese of Down was now perceived as residing in the office of bishop.

Another foundation for Augustinian canons associated with Malachy was the abbey of SS. Peter and Paul at Knock (Cnoc na nApstol) in the diocese of Airgialla, established with the support of Donnchad Ua Cerbaill, king of Airgialla (*a*. 1132–68). Its completion by Bishop Áed Ua Cáellaide and its conse-

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155 *AFM* 1149, 1156. In 1165 the 'clerics of Saul' were granted a *baile* by Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn, king of Cenél nEógain and high-king: *AU*, *AFM*.

156 *AU*, *ALC*, *AFM*. Augustinian canons wore a distinctive black cloak. Discussion in M. T. Flanagan, 'John de Courcy, the first Ulster plantation and Irish church men' in B. Smith (ed.), *Britain and Ireland 900–1300: Insular Responses to Medieval European Change* (Cambridge, 1999), 160–62.

157 Cf. the death-notice in 1025 of Máel Brigte ua Críchidéin, *comarba* of Finnén [Movilla] and Comgall [Bangor]: *AU²* 1025.1. He was already *comarba* of Movilla in 1007: *AU²* 1007.7. This suggests that headship of the churches of Movilla and Bangor had been combined, with Movilla as the dominant church.

158 *AU* and *AFM* have *as an abdaine*, 'from the abbacy', while *ALC* has *ass a nabdhuine*, 'from their abbacy', implying that Amlaíb may have been abbot of Mellifont. It is so interpreted by Mac Niocaill, *Na Manaigh Liatha*, 166.

cration by Malachy are recorded in 1148.[159] Knock, which was located close to
the episcopal see and St Mary's Abbey at Louth, appears to have been a house
devoted primarily to learning. The calendar of saints compiled by Máel Muire Ua
Gormáin,[160] abbot of Knock, attests to the active engagement of that house in
liturgical study. Máel Muire, who may be presumed to have been a kinsman of
Flann (Florint) Ua Gormáin (*ob.* 1174), who had spent twenty-one years studying
among the Franks and the English,[161] explained the motivation for the compila-
tion of his metrical vernacular calendar as his concern about omissions of Irish
and other saints from the early-ninth-century metrical Martyrology of Oengus,
and also the recording of saints under the wrong date.[162] Máel Muire's calendar
therefore explicitly sought to revise and update an earlier para-liturgical source,
and it did so in the same metrical vernacular form: in other words, change that
also encompassed continuity. An obituary notice for Donnchad Ua Cerbaill
inserted into the fifteenth-century so-called Antiphonary of Armagh requested a
prayer for the king 'by whose patronage were made the Book of Cnoc na nApstol
at Louth, and the chief books of the order of the year, and the chief books of the
Mass'.[163] The Book of Cnoc na nApstol may possibly be *Félire Uí Gormáin*, a
title coined by Mícheál Ó Cléirigh when he copied the text in 1630.[164] At any
rate, it is evident that the regular canons at Knock were engaged in the production
of liturgical manuscripts. It can only be regretted that so few of those 'chief
books' have survived.

Malachy's visit to Arrouaise may also have influenced his interest in female
religious communities. Bernard's Life of Malachy does not indicate any notable
concern on Malachy's part to promote the religious life for women; rather,
women are depicted as more of a hindrance than a help to Malachy. Thus,
Malachy's sister upbraided him for being concerned with burial of the poor.[165]
Bernard also mentioned a miserable woman, a member of that 'accursed prog-
eny', presumably the Clann Sínaich, who accused Malachy of invading another's
inheritance and interrupted him with improper shouts while he was preaching,
even ridiculing him for his baldness.[166] That Malachy, however, did make provi-

159 *AFM*. The entry records that a *nemed* at Louth – that is, a portion of land reserved for church use
– was assigned to Knock, evidence of an institutional link between the two houses.
160 Above, p. 19. He is probably the 'Máel Muire Ua Dúnáin' whose death is recorded in 1181 in
AFM. There appears to be confusion on the part of the annalist with the early-twelfth-century
reformer of that name who died in 1117: *AU² 1117.7, MIA 1117.1, AI 1117.4, CS 1113=1117,
AT, AFM*.
161 Below, p. 169.
162 *Félire Húi Gormáin*, 4–5.
163 G. Petrie, *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland Anterior to the Anglo-Norman Invasion* (Dublin,
1845), 394; *Félire Húi Gormáin*, xx; H. J. Lawlor, *St Bernard of Clairvaux's Life of St Malachy*
(London, 1920), 170; B. Smith, *Colonisation and Conquest in Medieval Ireland: The English in
Louth, 1170–1330* (Cambridge, 1999), 16. Cf. Kenney, *Sources*, no. 658.
164 Above, p. 19.
165 Below, p. 216.
166 *Vita Malachiae*, 314–15, 337; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 21, 45–6.

sion for women religious is evidenced by the Vision of Tnugdal, written in 1149, which described him as the 'founder of fifty-four congregations of monks, canons, and nuns (*sanctimoniales*), to whom he provided all the necessities of life'.[167] Malachy therefore sought to provide new, or revivified, structures for women religious, even though this could be interpreted more negatively as seeking the restriction, if not control, of autonomous female religious communities. In 1139 the second Lateran council had legislated against 'that pernicious and detestable custom' whereby women were styling themselves *sanctimoniales* without submitting to a rule, neither that of Benedict, nor Augustine, nor Basil, signalling a suspicion of women who were not clearly identifiable as organised under a particular rule.[168] That decree may at least in part have determined Malachy's concern for female religious communities.

One of the striking features of the twelfth-century renewal was the growing European-wide desire and demand of women for a communal religious life, which stimulated a number of monastic experiments for women religious. The denial of clerical status to women precluded ultimate autonomy to communities of women religious, no matter how much they might appear to be independent institutions under the authority of a freely elected abbess.[169] The need for a priest or group of clergy to administer the sacraments meant that some arrangements had to be made by all female religious houses for the provision of services by male clergy. This, in turn, raised issues about the relationship between nuns and their male clerical providers. The difficulty in putting such structures in place centred on the crucial question of how women and men could interact with each other without suspicion of sexual impropriety.

There is insufficient evidence to ascertain whether Malachy shared the ambivalence and ambiguities inherent in the attitudes of so many contemporary reformers to the role of women religious. In relation to the pre-twelfth-century Irish church it has been suggested that, in general, it had a less misogynist attitude towards women.[170] That Malachy might have been less fearful of women than some of his contemporaries may be suggested by circumstantial evidence for his willingness to experiment with co-located communities for men and women at Termonfeckin. This early church site, which derived its name from its reputed founder, St Fechín of Fore (*ob.* 665/8), was situated in the same diocese where the first Cistercian house at Mellifont, and the first Arrouaisian community at Louth, had been established by Malachy in 1142 with the support of Donnchad Ua Cerbaill, king of Airgialla. Neither in Armagh as bishop from 1132 to 1136, nor in Down as bishop from 1136 to 1148, did Malachy achieve as much success in establishing reformist religious communities as he did in the diocese of Airgialla, where his brother, Gilla Críst (Christianus), had been bishop

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167 Above, p. 123.
168 2 Lateran 26 in Tanner, *Decrees*, 203.
169 Above, pp. 72–3.
170 C. Harrington, *Women in a Celtic Church: Ireland 450–1150* (Oxford, 2002), especially 267–89.

between 1135 and 1138, and where Malachy installed his own protégé, Áed Ua Cáellaide, to succeed Gilla Críst. A reform agenda was actively encouraged by the energetic Donnchad Ua Cerbaill, whose expanding kingdom was reflected in the augmented boundaries from around 1138 of the diocese of Airgialla, which constituted a significant endorsement of his political aspirations.[171] The king maintained a residence at Louth, as evidenced by an annalistic notice in 1164 that the greater part of Louth was burned by a fire issuing from the house of Donnchad Ua Cerbaill while Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn, king of Cenél nEógain, and his entourage were staying there after having dishonoured the *Bachall Ísu*, with the implication on the part of the annalist that the fire was the result of divine retribution.[172] Of Gilla Críst's brief career as bishop of Airgialla between 1135 and 1138 little is known, but his reformist credentials are attested by the fact that Tnugdal, in his vision of heaven, sighted Gilla Críst in company with St Patrick, Cellach of Armagh and Malachy.[173] As for Donnchad Ua Cerbaill, his obituary notice described him as responsible for the foundation of 'the monastery of canons of Termann Féichín, and the monastery of nuns, and the great church of Termann Féichín, and the church of Lepadh Féichín', literally the 'bed of Féichín', probably referring to a shrine-church located over Féichín's tomb.[174] Evidently, two distinct conventual buildings were constructed at Termonfeckin with the support of Donnchad Ua Cerbaill. The site of Termonfeckin had been plundered in 1025 and the deaths of *airchinnig* are recorded in 1045/1053 (duplicated entry in *AFM*) and 1056, indicating residency at the site during the eleventh century.[175] Did an existing male community adopt the Augustinian rule, which would also have signified that it opted for sacerdotal ordination and celibacy? Was there already a female community at Termonfeckin? And might the canons and nuns have worshipped together in the 'great church', as had been the case with the male and female conventual communities at Kildare described by Cogitosus, hagiographer of Brigit, writing in the late seventh century? Such an arrangement may be thought improbable in light of the fact that the second Lateran council in 1139 had prohibited nuns from coming together with canons or monks in choir for the singing of the office; and Malachy, as papal legate, charged with the implementation of the decrees of the council, is unlikely to have overlooked that prohibition.

Provision for women had not been a feature of the first Arrouaisian communities. The women's chief supporter appears to have been Gervasius, the third abbot (1121–47), during whose abbacy Malachy had visited Arrouaise. Gervasius was responsible for founding the first Arrouaisian house specifically

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171 K. Simms, 'The origins of the diocese of Clogher', *Clogher Record*, 10 (1980), 180–98; Smith, *Colonisation and Conquest*, 10–27.
172 *AFM* 1164 and cf. *AFM* 1149.
173 Above, p. 99.
174 Above, p. 149, n. 163.
175 *AU²* 1025, *AFM* 1045, 1053, 1056.

for women at Harrold (Beds.) in 1136×38.[176] In a preface written by Abbot Gualterus about 1186 for the chartulary of Arrouaise, Gualterus stated that Gervasius 'had received almost all of both sexes' and that, in drawing up his rule, he had taken advice from other religious men, including Bernard of Clairvaux.[177] It is not impossible that Bernard might have encouraged Malachy on his first visit to Clairvaux to consult Gervasius at Arrouaise and that Bernard's silence about Malachy's going there was occasioned by Bernard's authorial aim of maintaining a separation between Malachy's career as monk and bishop, and by the fact that his Life was written at the behest of Cistercian monks in Ireland. It may equally be, however, that given its location Malachy would, in any case, have visited Arrouaise without prompting from Bernard and may indeed have done so even before he arrived at Clairvaux. As Gualterus described it, Arrouaise was situated close to a *strata publica*, an old Roman road.[178] Travellers from the British Isles generally disembarked on the Continent at Wissant, west of Calais, as did Anselm in 1097[179] and Lorcán Ua Tuathail in 1180, for example.[180] Malachy is likely to have travelled by the same route. At Wissant there was an Arrouaisian chapel and hospice that owed its foundation to an entry donation given in 1115 by the future abbot, Gervasius.[181] Around 1177 Wissant found it necessary to add a special cemetery for 'Scots, Irish, and other pilgrims', such was the volume of through traffic.[182] It is therefore possible that already on his first journey to Rome in 1139 Malachy, as he disembarked on the Continent, would have encountered a community of Arrouaisian canons at Wissant and that this, in turn, led him to visit Arrouaise along his route.

Information is sparse about the institutional arrangements for Arrouaisian female religious communities. At Harrold the women were initially entrusted to the care of a prior and canons, but by around 1188 they were ruled by a prioress.[183] Already by that date the canons of Arrouaise had reconsidered the advisability of catering for women, and co-located communities such as Harrold did not long survive growing suspicions from churchmen. The sometimes-used term 'double monastery' can be applied to a community where men and women lived alongside or at a short distance from each other, but in different buildings. It would therefore be possible to style any nunnery, where the sacraments were administered to women religious by nearby resident male clergy, as a double

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176 Before becoming a canon Gervasius had been a *clericus* of Eustace III, count of Boulogne, who had important contacts with England: Tock, *Monumenta Arroasiensia*, no. 5; Milis, *L'Ordre des Chanoines*, 277.

177 Tock, *Monumenta Arroasiensia*, 26; Milis, *L'Ordre des Chanoines*, 62–5.

178 Tock, *Monumenta Arroasiensia*, 20.

179 R. W. Southern (ed.), *The Life of St Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury by Eadmer*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1972), 99–100.

180 Plummer, 'Vie et miracles de S. Laurent', 153.

181 Tock, *Monumenta Arroasiensia*, no. 5.

182 Milis, *L'Ordre des Chanoines*, 212.

183 Milis, *L'Ordre des Chanoines*, 290–97; S. Thompson, *Women Religious: The Founding of English Nunneries after the Norman Conquest* (Oxford, 1991), 150–55.

house. Such houses proved everywhere to be of short-lived duration. There is a dearth of Irish evidence but, by analogy with elsewhere, it may be assumed that a similar curtailment was inevitable also in the Irish church once the position of female alongside male communities came increasingly to be questioned.

The establishment at Termonfeckin of both nuns and canons was broadly coincident with developments at Harrold and, like Harrold, Termonfeckin was to be modified in the late twelfth century to a location that had only nuns. By 1196 the female community at Termonfeckin had come under the authority of Agnes, abbess of the Arrouaisian convent of St Mary's Clonard (co. Meath), as evidenced by a confirmation of Pope Celestine III which listed Termonfeckin, along with thirteen other conventual churches, as subject to the abbess of Clonard.[184] No mention of male canons at Termonfeckin occurs thereafter. Yet two annalistic notices confirm their earlier presence. In 1149 a raiding party from Brega plundered 'half of Termann Féichín and carried off some of the cattle of the monks (*manaig*)', while the death-notice of Máel Caemgin Ua Gormáin, who died as *maighistir* (from Latin *magister* and suggestive of an education in a Continental cathedral school or proto-university) of Louth and chief scholar (*ard shaoi*, a more conservative style of title) of Ireland in 1164, described him as having been 'abbot of the monastery of canons of Termonfeckin for a time'.[185] That entry affords evidence for movement of personnel between Louth, as mother-house, and Termonfeckin, as daughter-house. In a chapter on the Irish church in his *Speculum ecclesiae* – a treatise mounting a scathing attack on contemporary monastic orders – Gerald of Wales cited the scandal in Ireland of the close vicinity of houses of canons and nuns of the Arrouaisian observance that were separated neither by wall nor bank but only thin and penetrable fences; and, interestingly, he located such houses specifically in the diocese of Airgialla.[186] Gerald was also critical of the inadequate arrangements in English Gilbertine houses for separating men and women and recounted a story of how, in an unnamed Gilbertine house, a canon and nun whose voices excelled all others, on hearing each other's singing over the dividing partition in the church (this suggests communal male and female worship), met secretly and the same night eloped over the convent wall.[187] Although Gerald wrote of houses in the plural in

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184 The papal privilege decreed that the *ordo canonicus qui secundum Dei et beati Augustini regulam atque institutionem Aroensium fratrum in eodem monasterio institutus* be observed in perpetuity: Sheehy, *Pontificia*, i, no. 29.

185 *AFM* 1149, 1164. He may be presumed to have been a kinsman of Máel Muire Ua Gormáin, author of *Félire Uí Gormáin*, and of Flann Ua Gormáin: above, p. 149. For evidence of institutional links between Louth Abbey as mother-house and Knock, see above, p. 149, n. 159; Flanagan, 'St Mary's Abbey, Louth', 229–30.

186 *Giraldi Opera*, iv, 182–3. The *Speculum Ecclesie* was conceived as early as *ca* 1191 but not completed until around 1220: R. Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales, 1146–1223* (Oxford, 1982), 220. Gerald's information about double houses in Airgialla may be presumed to have dated from his first visit to Ireland in 1185–6 rather than his later visit, 1204–6.

187 *Giraldi Opera*, iv, 184–6.

the diocese of Airgialla, only Termonfeckin can be identified with certainty as a double monastery in that diocese. It provides the clearest evidence for Malachy's concern to make provision for women religious.

While Malachy may have been prepared to endorse the creation of 'double monasteries' in which men and women could live in harmony and discipline using Arrouaisian observances, the experiment proved short-lived. Nonetheless, Malachy had found the rule of Augustine according to the Arrouaisian usages to be sufficiently flexible for him to promote it for use in cathedral churches such as Louth, for reviving older church sites such as Saul, for houses of liturgical study such as Knock, and for communities of women religious such as Termonfeckin.

Cîteaux, Arrouaise and Savigny

The foundation at Arrouaise has been deemed by historians to have developed institutional structures, such as an annual chapter and filiation links, as a result of Cistercian influence. One of the implications arising from Berman's re-evaluation of the chronology of Cistercian institutional growth is its impact on the dating of similar developments in other monastic congregations, such as those of the Premonstratensians and the Arrouaisians. The first Premonstratensian chapter is conventionally dated to 1128, with written statutes in existence from 1131, while the meeting of the first general chapter of Arrouaise is dated to between 1129 and 1132.[188] Developments within those other congregations may need to be reassessed in light of Berman's arguments, but, equally, Berman's chronology requires evaluation alongside the evidence of other congregations. If Cistercian institutional structures were chiefly an elaboration of the second half of the twelfth century, this would also argue against precocious governmental arrangements on the part of Arrouaise. It would serve to reinforce the view that Malachy's interest in the Arrouaisian observances was primarily occasioned by its religious and liturgical ethos and in-house communal routine.[189] The 1138

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188 Milis, *L'Ordre des Chanoines*, 138, 533. Cf. P. Zakar's view in 1970, endorsed as still valid in 1999, that 'studies about the early legislation of the Order of the Premonstratensians and of the canons of Arrouaise are still on the high seas, and are still teeming with hypotheses': Waddell, *Narrative and Legislative Texts*, 155.

189 None of the twelfth-century papal confirmations to Arrouaise list Irish houses or possessions: Tock, *Monumenta Arroasiensia*, nos. 75, 160, 180, 184. In 1181 Pope Alexander III ordered all abbots of the order to attend the general chapter at Arrouaise: ibid., no. 164. On 9 December 1200 Pope Innocent III instructed the archbishops of Armagh and Tuam, and all the bishops, abbots, priors and canons of the Arrouaisian order (*ordinem* Arroasiensem) in Ireland to send representatives to the annual chapter of the 'order of Arrouaise': Sheehy, *Pontificia*, i, no. 45; Tock, *Monumenta Arroasiensia*, no. 239. The annual date of the chapter was 21–22 September: Milis, *L'Ordre des Chanoines*, 534. Since John Cumin, archbishop of Dublin, was in self-imposed exile and Muirges Ua hÉnna, archbishop of Cashel, was under papal suspension, it is likely that Innocent's letter was addressed to the archbishops of Armagh and Tuam as ordinaries, not as members of the Arrouaisian congregation. Cf. a statute of uncertain date specifying a penance for abbots from Ireland who fail to attend the general chapter: L. Milis (ed.),

charter of Athelwold, bishop of Carlisle, preserved in the chartulary of Arrouaise, instructed his *fratres* to reside communally (*communiter*) under the rule of St Augustine according to the statutes of St Nicholas of Arrouaise, and they were to elect a prior; and that prior was to attend the chapter of St Nicholas (*capitulum Beati Nicholai*) in the following year, so that he could be instructed and corrected.[190] Strictly speaking, this need not be interpreted as attendance at a general chapter, but merely at a regular chapter of the community at Arrouaise.[191] At the very least, however, it highlights difficulties in charting the chronology of organisational development.

Berman's reappraisal of Cistercian institutional evolution also requires further consideration in relation to the Savigniac houses that were to affiliate to Cîteaux. The foundation of Savigny dated from *ca* 1112 when Vitalis (*ob.* 1122), a former chaplain of Count Robert of Mortain, and canon of St-Évroul near Mortain, having relinquished the burdens of his office and withdrawn with some other like-minded religious to a deserted location, established a monastic community on the Normandy border close to the territories of Maine and Brittany.[192] Under Vitalis's successor, Abbot Geoffrey (1122–39), there ensued a remarkable period of expansion with a substantial number of new foundations, including that of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin, in 1139. The origins and context of that foundation remain wholly obscure, but it would appear to have been founded directly from Savigny, possibly as a result of an Irish initiative, and possibly including monks drawn from the mother-house.[193] Along with other Savigniac houses, St Mary's Abbey was to be absorbed into the Cistercian order. In the Cistercian filiation-tables the foundation date of St Mary's Abbey is given as 1139, thereby acknowledging its precedence over the earliest Irish Cistercian foundation at Mellifont in 1142.[194] This was a significant concession, since foundation dates in the Cistercian tables were generally reckoned from the year of incorporation rather than the date of original foundation. There is no reason to doubt the accu-

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Constitutiones Canonicorum Regularium Ordinis Arroasiensis, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis, 20 (Turnhout, 1970), 196.

190 Milis, *L'Ordre des Chanoines*, 600–601; Smith, *English Episcopal Acta, 30*, 2.

191 Athelwold also decreed that if the prior neglected his office and, having been corrected by the bishop, failed to improve, *congregatis abbatibus eiusdem ordinis, aliisque religiosis personis, in capitulo suo deponetur*.

192 M. Chibnall (ed.), *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, 6 vols, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1969–80), iv, 330–33; J. van Moolenbroek, *Vital l'Ermite, Prédicateur Itinérant, Fondateur de l'Abbaye Normande de Savigny*; transl. A-M. Nambot (Assen, 1990).

193 A. Gwynn, 'The origins of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 79 (1949), 110–25. Norman and other French pottery excavated from late-eleventh- and early-twelfth-century levels in Dublin excavations reflect direct links with Normandy: H. B. Clarke, 'Conversion, church and cathedral: the diocese of Dublin to 1152' in J. Kelly and D. Keogh (eds), *History of the Catholic Diocese of Dublin* (Dublin, 1999), 49.

194 Mac Niocaill, *Na Manaigh Liatha*, 4–8; Gilbert, *Chartularies of St Mary's*, ii, 254, 258, where reference is made to the monks of St Mary's Abbey as Tironian, a common confusion since Bernard of Tiron was for a time an associate of Vitalis of Savigny.

racy of the foundation date of St Mary's Abbey. It just about falls within the abbacy of Geoffrey, under whom there was substantial growth in the adoption of Savigniac customs. In the anonymous late-twelfth-century Life of Geoffrey it is claimed that he founded houses of his *ordo* in England, Ireland and Wales.[195] The Life also averred that he was a close friend of King Henry I of England, who used to address him as 'father' and was willing to give him everything that was asked of him;[196] and, indeed, so successful was Geoffrey that ten houses following Savigniac customs had been established by the time of Henry's death in 1135.[197] A number of these were located in north-west England, on the Welsh border and on the Isle of Man – that is, in areas which can be shown to have had trading contacts with the Hiberno-Norse city kingdom of Dublin and political contacts with the Hiberno-Norse royal dynasty. Nonetheless, St Mary's Abbey, as noted, appears to have been founded directly from Savigny.

The date at which the Savigniac houses are assumed to have become attached to Cîteaux is 1147, in a general chapter at which the Cistercian pope, Eugenius III, was present. That date, however, would compromise Berman's thesis that the institutional structures of the Cistercian order were elaborated only after the deaths of Bernard of Clairvaux and Eugenius in 1153. Berman has sought to overcome this difficulty by arguing that the account of a Cîteaux general chapter in 1147 was without reliable contemporary evidence since it derived from the *vita prima* of Bernard of Clairvaux which, although some parts of it were begun by Bernard's biographer, Geoffrey of Auxerre, during Bernard's lifetime (*ob.* 1153), was revised after 1160 following the first attempts to have him canonised (achieved in 1174).[198] According to Berman, whatever happened with the abbot of Savigny in 1147 occurred in a Clairvaux and not a Cîteaux context – she surmised some kind of agreement on forming a prayer society, or sharing liturgical practices – and was a first step towards a merger between Savigny and Cîteaux which took place later. In her view it is most likely that Savigny was attached first to Clairvaux and subsequently to Cîteaux when Alexander of Cologne, abbot of the independently founded house of Grandselve near Toulouse, which attached itself to Clairvaux probably in 1150, became abbot of Savigny in 1158 and subsequently went on to become abbot of Cîteaux in 1168. In response, Christopher Holdsworth has argued a strong case for accepting 1147 as the date at which a decision was taken that Savigniac houses would join the Cistercian grouping, highlighting among other things the significance of a letter of Pope Eugenius III issued in September 1147 that referred to a request from the

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195 E. P. Sauvage, 'Vita S. Gaufredi secundi abbatis Saviniacensis', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 1 (1882), 355–410 at 407.
196 Ibid., 402.
197 These are not listed separately in D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 2nd edn (London, 1971), highlighting how the history of Savigniac houses is generally subsumed within Cistercian history.
198 Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution*, 143–7.

abbot of Savigny to join the Cistercian congregation, to which Berman gave no credence nor discussion.[199]

Because Savigniac houses were eventually absorbed into the Cistercian order and lost their separate identity they have suffered from a lack of dedicated research; the evidence relating to Savigniac foundations in Britain and Ireland thus requires urgent re-examination in light of Berman's arguments.[200] A papal privilege of Pope Eugenius III issued on 10 April 1148 to the abbot of Savigny listed affiliated English houses, but made no mention of St Mary's Abbey.[201] A charter from Richard, abbot of Savigny, in favour of Ranulf, abbot of Buildwas (Shrops.),[202] issued on 26 November 1156, granted him 'the care and disposition of our house of St Mary at Dublin in perpetuity, so that you and your house may have care of this same house in all things according to the tenor of the Cistercian *ordo* as though it were your daughter and had gone forth from you'.[203] This suggests that up to that date St Mary's Abbey was considered to have been linked directly with Savigny and no other house. Yet this appears to be contradicted by a privilege of Pope Anastasius IV issued on 20 April 1154 to Richard, abbot of Savigny, confirming to him and his successors a list of monastic houses that owed obedience and subjection to the abbot of Savigny in which St Mary's Abbey, Dublin, is named as if it were a daughter-house of Combermere (Ches.). Anastasius's privilege not only acknowledged that Savigny was following the *ordo monasticus* according to the *ordo Cisterciensis*, but also that Savigny had power and rights of discipline over named houses: it confirmed the use by Savigny of the *ordo monasticus secundum ordinem Cisterciensium fratrum tam in prefato monasterio quam in his que sub ipsius potestate et disciplina consistunt*.[204] From the location at which St Mary's Abbey occurs in this papal letter – the clause reads 'the abbey of Combermere,[205] the abbey of Basingwerk

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199 C. Holdsworth, 'The affiliation of Savigny' in M. L. Dutton, D. M. La Corte, and P. Lockey, *Truth as Gift: Studies in Medieval Cistercian History in Honor of John R. Sommerfeldt* (Kalamazoo, MI, 2004), 43–88.

200 The most recent discussion, B. Poulle, 'Savigny and England' in D. Bates and A. Curry (eds), *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages* (London, 1994), 159–68, highlights that, notwithstanding the destruction by fire at the Archives of St-Lô in 1944, which destroyed the early-thirteenth-century cartulary that contained over 680 documents, there still exist four complete and three incomplete copies as well as extracts of the cartulary and over 1,500 original charters. It is possible that these may shed additional light on the early history of St Mary's Abbey.

201 Sheehy, *Pontificia*, i, 11, n. 1.

202 Ranulf is attested as abbot of Buildwas, 1155–87: D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke, and V. C. M. London, *The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales, 940–1216*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 2001), 104. Buildwas was founded as a Savigniac house in 1135.

203 J. Hunter (ed.), *Ecclesiastical Documents*, Camden Society, 8 (London, 1840). The texts were printed from original charters that had been acquired by the English antiquary Cox Macro. For the latter, see S. Brewer, 'Macro, Cox' in *ODNB*, xxxvi, 23–4.

204 Sheehy, *Pontificia*, i, no. 3.

205 Founded as a Savigniac house; foundation date 1133 in the Cistercian tables.

(Flint.),[206] the abbey of St Mary, Dublin, and the abbey of Poulton (Flint.)[207] with their appurtenances' – Aubrey Gwynn inferred that St Mary's Abbey had been assigned as a daughter-house to Combermere on, or before, the issue of Anastasius's privilege.[208] Assuming that this interpretation is correct, it need not imply that St Mary's Abbey was originally founded from Combermere, but it still leaves unexplained how St Mary's Abbey might have come to be linked with Combermere in 1154 and with Buildwas in 1156. There is no mention in Anastasius's privilege of a direct relationship between Cîteaux and Savigny. The privilege is concerned only to affirm that all Savigniac houses had adopted the Cistercian *ordo* but remained subject to the abbot of Savigny. The fact that within two years of Anastasius's privilege suggesting that St Mary's Abbey, Dublin, was connected with Combermere an alternative filiation with Buildwas is evidenced in the charter of Abbot Richard of Savigny to Abbot Ranulf of Buildwas may indirectly lend support to Berman's argument that the affiliation of Savigniac houses to Cîteaux proceeded in stages and that the conventional date of 1147 may collapse a more complex process retrospectively into a single date. How much success Abbot Ranulf of Buildwas might have had in asserting control over St Mary's Abbey, Dublin, from 1156 onwards remains unknown. In 1175 Ranulf secured confirmation of the subjection of St Mary's, Dublin, from Henry II.[209] It was in the king's interest for the monastery located in the city of Dublin, which he had retained as royal demesne, to be subject to Abbot Ranulf, who was closely connected with the royal court and had accompanied Henry to Ireland in 1171. In an agreement concluded between Abbot Ranulf and Leonard, abbot of St Mary's, Dublin, on 1 November 1182, by which Ranulf conceded to St Mary's Abbey the foundation of Dunbrody (co. Wexford), Ranulf stated that he had recently (*nuper*) acquired the right of visitation of St Mary's Abbey from the abbot of Savigny.[210] Whether Ranulf was alluding to the grant of 1156 from Abbot Richard, or to a subsequent confirmation, remains unknown.

Critical from the viewpoint of charting the spread of Continental monastic observances within the twelfth-century Irish church is that St Mary's Abbey, Dublin, appears to have been founded directly from Savigny in 1139. It therefore provides another instance of Continental contact, this time with the Normandy area, that is otherwise unrecorded. It highlights that awareness of reformed Benedictine monasticism reached twelfth-century Ireland not only from the English church via Canterbury (where Donngus Ua hAingliu, bishop of Dublin, was trained), St Albans (where Samuel Ua hAingliu, bishop of Dublin, was

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206 Founded as a Savigniac house; foundation date 1131 or 1132 in the Cistercian tables.

207 Foundation 1146×53 from Combermere; foundation date 1158 in the Cistercian tables; moved in 1214 to Dieulacres (Staffs.).

208 Gwynn, 'The origins of St Mary's', 115.

209 Gilbert, *Chartularies of St Mary's*, i, 79–80.

210 Gilbert, *Chartularies of St Mary's*, i, 354–5. The use of *conventio* as well as the precise date of the agreement suggests that it had been concluded in the context of a legal dispute.

trained) and Winchester (where Máel Ísu Ua hAinmire, bishop of Waterford, was trained), from contacts with the *Schottenklöster* in southern German and other centres of Irish influence abroad, and via Malachy's association with Bernard of Clairvaux, but also from Savigny.

There may be evidence for another early-twelfth-century Savigniac foundation at a location in north-east Ulster. The sole intimation comes from a much later source, the early-fifteenth-century Coucher Book of Furness Abbey.[211] It claims that on 8 September 1127 a certain king of Ultonia, 'Magnellus Makenlefe', founded a monastery beside the fountain of St Finnian (? of Movilla)[212] in the land of 'Erynagh'. The monastery was known as 'Carryke', belonged to the order of Tiron and was a daughter-house of Savigny (there is confusion here between Tiron and Savigny[213]), and its first abbot, St Evodius, ordered that his body be buried on the island of Inis, foretelling that his abbey would be destroyed and refounded there. The narrative continues with Evodius being succeeded by abbots Oddo, Devincius and John; during the abbacy of the latter the house joined the Cistercian order, affiliated as a daughter-house of Furness (Lancs). The destruction of the monastery foretold by Evodius came to pass when it was attacked by the Anglo-Norman adventurer John de Courcy, who embarked on a conquest of Ulaid in 1177. In reparation, de Courcy rebuilt the monastery at the site of 'Ynescuscre' as foretold by the first abbot, and assigned it as a daughter house to Furness. It was entered in the Cistercian filiation-tables as *Insula Curcii*, a designation that honoured its founder but also played on the name of an earlier pre-Anglo-Norman monastery at Inis Cúscraid. The Coucher Book is therefore correct in attributing a pre-Cistercian history to Inch Abbey before its foundation by John de Courcy.

The details in the Coucher Book account cannot be verified, although the name of the king appears to be a reasonable rendering of Mac Duinn Sléibe, the surname of the twelfth-century kings of Ulaid,[214] and 'Ynescuscre' is a plausible

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211 J. C. Atkinson and J. Brownbill (eds), *Coucher Book of Furness Abbey*, 3 vols in 7, Chetham Society, 2nd Series, 9, 11, 14, 74, 76, 78, 94 (Manchester, 1886–1935), i, 12–13; W. Reeves, *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore* (Dublin, 1847), 232–3; W. Dugdale and R. Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis, and B. Bandinel, new edn, 6 vols in 8 (London, 1817–30), v, 250. This account was discussed by H. G. Richardson, 'Some Norman monastic foundations in Ireland' in J. A. Watt, J. B. Morrall, and F. X. Martin (eds), *Medieval Studies Presented to Aubrey Gwynn, S. J.* (Dublin, 1961), who was unaware, however, of the Irish evidence relating to Inis Cúscraid. Richardson read *insula Venseri* in the indulgence of Bishop Malachias of Down, but his photographic reproduction clearly shows that it should be read as *insula ycuscri*, which disposes of some of Richardson's perceived difficulties.

212 Finnian of Movilla was revered as the patron of Ulaid and Comgall of Bangor as patron of Dál nAraide: Reeves, *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, 151.

213 Vitalis, founder of Savigny, and Bernard, founder of Tiron, were for a period hermits together in the forest of Savigny. Vitalis appears in the Life of Bernard and the hagiographical Lives of both saints show analogues and cross-borrowings: van Moolenbroek, *Vital*, 38–64.

214 The death in battle of Niall Mac Duinn Sléibe, one of two kings of Ulaid, is recorded in 1127: *AU²* 1127.3, *AFM*.

rendering of the vernacular Inis Cúscraid, without contamination by the post-Anglo-Norman form *Insula Curcii*. A precise date for the foundation of 'Carryke', the precursor of 'Ynescuscre', is given as 1127, somewhat suspiciously perhaps, the year in which Furness Abbey relocated from Tulketh (Lancs.), where the first community had settled in 1124. The foundation date of Inch in the Cistercian filiation-tables is 1187.[215] The Coucher Book account emphasises that Inch was to be a daughter house of Furness in perpetuity, and an early foundation date of 1127 copper-fastened that claim, notably against Mellifont founded in 1142. St Mo Buí of Inis Cúscraid is listed in the main text of the early-ninth-century Martyrology of Oengus under 22 July with a later gloss 'that is beside Downpatrick'.[216] An extensive early ecclesiastical enclosure was discovered at Inch by aerial photography in 1972.[217] There are also a number of eleventh- and twelfth-century annalistic entries relating to Inis Cúscraid. In 1001 the site was plundered by Sitric mac Amlaíb, king of Dublin; the death of Ócán Ua Cormacáin, *airchinnech* of Inis Cúscraid, was recorded in 1061; and the plundering of Inis Cúscraid by Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn, king of Cenél nEógain, in 1149.[218] Around 1157 the *airchinnech* of Inis Cúscraid is listed among the lay rather than ecclesiastical witnesses to the charter of Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn in favour of Newry Abbey, suggesting his control of a landed estate, if not continuity of a community of choir monks at the location.[219] John de Courcy's Cistercian foundation of Inch was therefore undoubtedly located at an early monastic site and it affords evidence if not for the adoption of Cistercian customs by an existing monastic community at least for the restoration of the early ecclesiastical settlement of Inis Cúscraid to monastic use.

   It is difficult to reconcile the evidence of the annalistic entries relating to pre-Cistercian Inis Cúscraid with the account of the foundation of 'Carryke' in the Coucher Book of Furness Abbey, which is problematic in light of its fifteenth-century date and the vested interest that Furness had in providing a justificatory explanation for its role as mother-house of Inch. The Furness account does acknowledge that John de Courcy's Cistercian foundation had a pre-Cistercian history, if not necessarily at Inch. If a Savigniac community had been founded as early as 1127 in Ulaid, this would mean that Malachy could have had direct experience of the Rule of Benedict before his first visit to

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215 Mac Niocaill, *Na Manaigh Liatha*, 12.

216 W. Stokes, *The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee: Félire Óengusso Céli Dé*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 29 (London, 1905; reprinted 1984), 164, 170. The Martryology of Tallaght lists Dobí of Inis Causcraid at 22 July and Botí of Inis Caumscraid at 29 July: R. I. Best and H. J. Lawlor (eds), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 68 (1931), 57–8; cf. *Félire Húi Gormáin*, 140, 146.

217 A. Hamlin, 'A recently discovered enclosure at Inch Abbey, co. Down', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 40 (1977), 85–8.

218 *AFM* 1001, *AU²* 1061.1, *ATig*, *AFM* 1061, 1149. Unlike Malachy's community at Saul it was not spared attack, which is possibly indicative of its unreformed or secularised state: above, p. 148.

219 Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters*, 292–3.

Clairvaux in 1139, although Bernard made no mention of it.[220] It is conceivable that Malachy as bishop of Connor (1124–32) might have come into contact with Savigniac monks of Furness, possibly via their interests in the Isle of Man. In 1134 the king of Man granted Ivo, abbot of Furness, land on which to establish a daughter-house at Rushen and also granted to Furness the perpetual right to elect the bishops of the island.[221] On balance, however, it remains problematic to rely on the Coucher Book of Furness claim for the foundation of a Savigniac house in Ulaid in 1127.[222]

It is nonetheless important to emphasise that St Benedict was respected as a monastic leader in Ireland long before the twelfth century. Indeed, it is ironic that on the Continent the followers of Columbanus are considered to have played an instrumental role in the dissemination of the Rule of Benedict, enabling it to make the seminal leap across the Alps from its Italian origins into the monasteries of Francia during the course of the seventh century. Without that transmission, the rule might not have been chosen by the Carolingian reformer Benedict of Aniane (*ob.* 821) as normative for monastic communities in the Carolingian empire, which was, in turn, to ensure that it became the dominant, if not sole, monastic rule used on the Continent until the proliferation from the eleventh century onwards of new interpretations of the monastic life.

The impact of new monasticism on established monasticism

The impact of the introduction of Continental observances on established monastic communities is difficult to gauge because of a lack of evidence for conceptions and practices in existing monasteries during the twelfth century. The treatise of Gillebertus, bishop of Limerick, is memorable for its very clear assertion that monks should not undertake pastoral work and were to be subject to episcopal authority.[223] Yet there can be little doubt about the major impact that the introduction of Cistercian and Augustinian observances had on the twelfth-century Irish church. Even more numerous than new foundations were the existing communities that adopted the Cistercian and Augustinian observances, of which a number of instances have been given.[224] In fact, it is difficult to point to a major pre-twelfth-century monastery that survived without being transformed into a

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220 Bernard does describe an apparently large monastery founded by Malachy prior to his encounter with Cistercian monasticism at *Ibracense* in Cormac Mac Carthaig's kingdom in Munster which had up to 120 monks, the location of which remains unknown, since it appears not to have survived: *Vita Malachiae*, 327–8; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 35.

221 G. Broderick (ed.), *Cronica Regum Mannie et Insularum: Chronicles of the Kings of Man and the Isles, BL Cotton Julius Avii* [Douglas, 1979], f. 35v; I. Beuermann, 'Metropolitan ambitions and politics: Kells-Mellifont and Man and the Isles', *Peritia*, 16 (2002), 419–34 at 427.

222 *Pace* Richardson, 'Some Norman monastic foundations', 35.

223 Above, pp. 80–1.

224 Above, pp. 132–4.

monastic community following either the Benedictine or Augustinian rules, into a cathedral church, into a parish church, or disappeared altogether.

A short distance from the first Cistercian foundation at Mellifont in 1142 lay the monastery of Monasterboice, reputedly founded by St Buite (*ob.* 519/20).[225] It was an important centre of learning during the eleventh century, exemplified by its most famous scholar Flann Mainistrech (*ob.* 1056), a noted historian, who had succeeded his father, Echtigern mac Óengusso, as *fer léigind*, or chief scholar, at Monasterboice.[226] Flann was a member of the local Cianacht Breg dynasty which, by the early eleventh century, dominated key positions at Monasterboice.[227] The terminal names in the Cianacht genealogy, probably part of the scholarly output of Monasterboice, are those of Flann's son and grandson.[228] Flann's son Echtigern (*ob.* 1067) held the office of *airchinnech* of Monasterboice, while another son, Fedelmid (*ob.* 1104), was accorded the title 'sage of history'.[229] The last recorded *airchinnig* were two of Echtigern's sons, Eógan (*ob.* 1117) and Fergna (*ob.* 1122).[230] Flann was a prolific writer of historical verse, much of which still awaits an editor.[231] There is little obvious trace of religious sensibility in his work, which includes verse synchronisms of world rulers – Assyrian, Mede, Persian, Greek, Macedonian, Babylonian and Roman – probably drawing on Bede's *Chronica majora*, since he ended his coverage, as did Bede, in 725/6, and poems on the pre-Christian and Christian kings of Tara, in which his main concern was to recount the manner of their deaths. The impression left by his writings is that of a gentleman scholar with access to a very good library who provided for his family by securing positions for them at Monasterboice, but who was not notably engaged with religious pursuits. Despite what must have been the grandeur of its buildings, judging by the evidence of the extant round tower, scriptural high crosses and sundial, Monasterboice seems to have lapsed as a monastic community following the foundation of Mellifont in 1142. Certainly, its decline into obscurity coincides with the establishment of Mellifont, with which it would have had to compete for lay patronage and funds. It may even be speculated that the *viri religiosi* whom Bernard of Clairvaux encouraged Malachy to recruit for Mellifont were drawn from Monasterboice.[232] A possible indication is two anecdotes in the sole surviving undated Life of St Buite which link the saint with Mellifont. On the occasion of Buite's baptism, as

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225 T. M. Charles-Edwards (ed.), *The Chronicle of Ireland*, 2 vols, Translated Texts for Historians, 44 (Liverpool, 2006), i, 88–9.

226 For his writings, see J. Carey, 'Flann Mainistrech' in *ODNB*, xix, 997–8; M. Ní Mhaonaigh, 'Flann Mainistrech' in Duffy, *Medieval Ireland*, 180–81.

227 See M. E. Dobbs, 'The pedigree and family of Flann Manistrech', *Journal of the County Louth Archaelogical Society*, 5 (1923), 149–53.

228 M. A. O'Brien (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (Dublin, 1962), 247 (Rawl. B. 502, 154a18).

229 *AU²* 1067.1, 1104.1, *AFM* 1067, 1104.

230 *AFM* 1117, 1122.

231 On his historical writings, see F. J. Byrne in *NHI*, i, 865–8.

there was no pure water nearby, the priest applied the hand of the infant to the ground and immediately there appeared an abundant and pure flow of water 'tasting of honey, which on account of that unusual miraculous sign is known to this day as *Mellifons*'.[233] The other story involves a miracle performed by Buite for a young boy who had run into difficulty when crossing a stream 'when he was returning to his monastery from the place of the brethren who were at Mellifont'.[234]

There is no extant literature of debate or apologetics between those monks who elected to follow Continental observances and those who belonged to long-established monastic institutions. However, even before Malachy's introduction of Augustinian and Cistercian usages the evidence of the satirical text the Vision of Mac Conglinne suggests that Irish monasteries were being subjected to criticism, indeed ridicule, from within their own milieu.[235] It has been plausibly argued that the earliest version, an important theme of which is a critique of the contemporary degradation of monastic life, dates from the time of Cormac Mac Carthaig, king of Munster, broadly between 1124 and 1138.[236] Its anonymous author offers a biting satire on the monasteries of Kells and Cork. The scholar Mac Conglinne sets out from the monastery of Fahan (co. Donegal) on a circuit of Ireland. Passing via Armagh, on which no comment is offered, he breaks his journey at the important early-ninth-century Columban foundation of Kells (co. Meath), where he receives such scant hospitality that he is left to fast overnight. The following day, on adopting the stance of a *fer dána*, or poet, rather than a pilgrim, his treatment improves dramatically and food and drink sufficient for twenty persons is provided to him and his attendant. As the two proceed on their way to the monastery of Cork to celebrate the feast of its patron, St Finbarr, Mac Conglinne's attendant advises him to pose as a poet so as to ensure that they receive plentiful food at Cork. Yet on arrival in the guest-house Mac Conglinne is meted out even more niggardly treatment and his verse of complaint, which had had the desired effect at Kells, provokes the abbot's anger because of the slur on his establishment to such an extent that he condemns Mac Conglinne to be hanged for reviling his church.[237] During the

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232 Above, p. 127.

233 Plummer, *Vitae SS Hib.*, i, 86 (from Oxford, Rawl. B. 505, dating from the second half of the fourteenth century).

234 Ibid., 95.

235 K. Meyer (ed.), *Aislinge meic Conglinne: The Vision of MacConglinne, a Middle-Irish Wonder Tale* (London, 1892), includes the texts of the H (TCD H.3.18) and B (*Leabhar Breac*) versions and translation of the B version; edition of B version in K. H. Jackson (ed.), *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne*, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (Dublin, 1990), 1–43.

236 M. Herbert, '*Aislinge Meic Conglinne*: contextual considerations', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 110 (2005), 65–72.

237 Meyer, *Aislinge Meic Conglinne*, 26–9; Jackson, *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne*, 10–11. For hanging rather than Stokes's translation of crucifixion as the intended mode of execution, see Jackson, *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne*, xxxiv; F. Kelly, *Guide to Early Irish Law*, Early Irish Law Series, 3 (Dublin, 1988), 217.

night Mac Conglinne's patron, St Mura of Fahan, appears to him and conjures up a vision of a surfeit of food that Mac Conglinne, on the following day, at a gathering of the men of Munster asssembled to witness his execution, recites to Cathal mac Finguine, king of Munster, in order to cure him of his demon of gluttony. The recital of the vision and the king's cure secures Mac Conglinne a stay of execution, with the king offering him a rich reward, but Mac Conglinne wishes only to accept a cloak from the church of Cork. One implication of the tale is that, as a travelling clerical scholar, Mac Conglinne had a more beneficial pastoral impact on King Cathal in his attempt to combat his gluttony, one of the cardinal sins,[238] than his local clergy, and that part of the king's cure included the revelation of the failings and inadequacies of his local church. Parody of the vernacular literary genres of *Immrama*, or Voyage tales, and *Aislinge*, or Visions, are clearly elements of this densely rich text, but criticism of contemporary monastic lifestyles is another. The materialistic concerns and lack of religious values at both Kells and Cork are highlighted, where the luxuries enjoyed by the community are at variance with its parsimony to the stranger, with a further implication that a poet was more welcome at those establishments than a clerical scholar. Bernard of Clairvaux's account of the installation by Malachy as papal legate of an 'outsider' in the bishopric of Cork affords independent testimony to a need for reform at Cork.[239]

In the case of the community of Kells, its preoccupations with landed property is evidenced by the twelve notices of grants and purchases relating to transactions between 1033 and 1161 inserted into the eighth-century gospel-book of Kells in the course of the twelfth century.[240] Although it can be suggested that in one way those insertions were intended to invest the property rights with the permanency of divine sanction, at another level there is something shocking about this splendidly illuminated gospel text, so precious that it had been provided with a decorated protective case (*cumdach*),[241] being used as a register for mundane land transactions. The notices reveal a distinction between the main Kells foundation, governed by property-owning clerics, and a much smaller group, a 'community within a community',[242] in the precincts of the ecclesiastical settlement who were dedicated to religious pursuits. It is a measure of the secularisation of the monastic establishment, as Máire Herbert has argued, that the notices reveal the abbot and his officials designating the *dísert*, or retreat house, as the locus of religious life with its own group of ascetics who would guarantee the spiritual

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238 Cf. above, p. 64; below, p. 205.

239 Above, pp. 107, 115.

240 Discussion of the material in M. Herbert, *Iona, Kells and Derry: The History and Hagiography of a Monastic Familia* (Oxford, 1988), 98–108; eadem, 'Charter material from Kells' in F. O'Mahony (ed.), *The Book of Kells* (Aldershot, 1994), 60–77; eadem, 'Before charters', 107–19.

241 Its theft is recorded in 1007: *AU²* 1007.11 (interpolation, hand H¹).

242 Cf. C. Haggart, 'The *céli Dé* and the early medieval Irish church: a reassessment', *Studia Hibernica*, 34 (2006–7), 17–62 at 22–3.

authority of Kells, while they themselves act as its patrons in the manner of secular lords and concern themselves with more worldly affairs. A number of monastic officials were augmenting their private holdings by land purchases in the period between 1133 and 1154. In one instance land was bought 1134×36 by Colmán Ua Breslén, priest (*sacart*) of Kells, for his own sons from the community of the retreat house who had received it as a bequest. That transaction actually took place in the presence of Malachy, described conservatively as 'successor of Patrick', and without episcopal title.[243] At Kells, therefore, Malachy would have experienced at first hand a non-celibate clergy, hereditary clerical succession and the privatisation and accumulation by individual clerics of church property. From the notices it is evident that the Ua Uchtáin, Ua Clucáin and Ua Breslén families dominated various positions within the monastic hierarchy at Kells during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It was such circumstances that must at least in part have determined Malachy's promotion of Continental monastic observances. There is little indication that Malachy's contact with Kells had influenced the monastery in the direction of reform. Significantly, by the 1180s at the latest, the religious of the *dísert* had transformed themselves into a community of canons under the rule of St Augustine, evidently deeming this to be the best means of maintaining a structured communal monastic life, and had marked that change by placing themselves under the protection of Mary rather than Colum Cille.[244] The changes at Kells may perhaps be dated somewhat earlier, to the period between 1148, when Máel Ciaráin mac Mengáin (who had consecrated the *dísert* church of Int Eidnén, probably as superior of the *dísert*) died, and 1150, when the abbot of Derry replaced the abbot of Kells as head of the Columban filiation.[245] Annals recording the death of a priest of Kells in 1153 and an abbot (*abb*) of Kells in 1154[246] suggest the continuance of a community for some time after 1150 at the main site, but the latter eventually became a parish church under the dedication of St Columba.[247]

The royal participants named in the eleventh- and twelfth-century Kells notices reveal a wide spectrum of influential secular patrons: the Ua Máel Sechlainn kings of Mide, Ua Ruairc kings of Bréifne, Ua Ragellaig kings of Gailenga, and Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn, king of Cenél nEógain, styled 'king

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243 G. Mac Niocaill, 'The Irish "charters" ' in F. O'Mahony (ed.), *The Book of Kells* (Aldershot, 1994), 162–3.

244 Charter of Hugh de Lacy to the 'canons of St Mary of Kells', 1175×86; charter of John, lord of Ireland and count of Mortain, 1192, to 'the church of St Mary of Kells and the regular canons serving God there': Mac Niocaill, *Notitiae as Leabhar Cheanannais*, 38–9.

245 Herbert, 'Charter material from Kells', 75.

246 *AFM* 1153, 1154; Herbert, *Iona*, 217–18.

247 A. Simms and K. Simms, *Kells*, Irish Historic Towns Atlas, 4 (Dublin, 1990), 2. The synod of Kells in 1152 designated Kells as the see for the diocese that was coterminous with the expanded kingdom of Tigernán Ua Ruairc, king of Bréifne, but, following the latter's killing in 1172 and the Anglo-Norman take-over of Mide by Hugh de Lacy, the extended portion of the diocese of Bréifne was reabsorbed into the diocese of Meath and Kells lost its episcopal status: *NHI*, ix, 273, 289. Which church at Kells hosted the 1152 synod remains obscure.

of Ireland', acted as donors, witnesses or guarantors. Significantly, by the third quarter of the twelfth century those same kings were patronising Cistercian and Augustinian houses.[248] The transfer of the headship of the Columban community from Kells to the monastery of Derry in Cenél nEógain was undoubtedly influenced partly by political factors: on the one hand, the chronic instability in the kingdom of Mide and the steady decline of the Ua Máel Sechlainn kings, and, on the other hand, the rise to prominence of the Mac Lochlainn kings of Cenél nEógain, who were patrons of the church of Derry by the early twelfth century, as evidenced by the burial there of Domnall Mac Lochlainn in 1121.[249] There is equally little doubt that by the mid twelfth century Derry had become an adherent of reform. In 1136 Malachy resigned the see of Armagh in favour of Gilla Meic Liac, abbot of Derry since around 1121.[250] Malachy would not have done so were he not convinced of Gilla Meic Liac's reformist credentials. Bernard of Clairvaux described him as 'a good man and worthy of this great honour, as both clergy and people agreed'.[251] Gilla Meic Liac's translation to Armagh may even have been intended to secure the commitment of the Columban monasteries to reform ideals. In 1150 Flaithbertach Ua Brolcháin, abbot of Derry, was styled *comarba* of Colum Cille – that is, head of the Columban filiation.[252] He had the support of both Derry's former abbot, Gilla Meic Liac, now archbishop of Armagh, and of Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn, king of Cenél nEógain and contender for the high-kingship.

In 1158 a synod was convened at Brí Meic Thaidc (co. Meath) by Gilla Meic Liac, with the papal legate Gilla Críst (Christianus) Ua Connairche, bishop of Lismore and former abbot of Mellifont, in attendance along with twenty-five other bishops. In addition to decreeing unspecified 'rules and good conduct', a chair (*cathair*) was appointed for Flaithbertach Ua Brolcháin as *comarba* of Colum Cille, 'the same as for every bishop', and also that he should hold chief abbacy (*ard-abdaine*) over the Columban churches throughout Ireland.[253] This obscure phrase may indicate that Flaithbertach was exempted from episcopal jurisdiction – that Columban houses would not come under the supervision of diocesan bishops – hence the annalist's emphasis on the attendance of twenty-five of their number. Alternatively, it may mean that Flaithbertach was

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248 Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn patronised the Cistercian abbey of Newry (above, pp. 130–1), Murchad Ua Máel Sechlainn founded the Cistercian abbey of Bective, the first daughter-house of Mellifont: Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 128. Tigernán Ua Ruairc endowed the Augustinian community at Navan, as recorded in a confirmation issued by John de Courcy as justiciar: E. St John Brooks, 'A charter of John de Courcy to the abbey of Navan', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 63 (1933), 38–45 at 39.

249 *AU²* 1121.1, *ALC*, *AFM*.

250 *AFM*.

251 *Vita Malachiae*, 338; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 47. For his Latinised name, Gelasius, see above, pp. 110–11.

252 *AFM*.

253 *AU*, *AFM*; cf. *AT*, *AClon*. His death notices in *AU* and *ALC* 1175 record that 'a bishop's chair' had been given to him by the clergy of Ireland.

accorded the concession by diocesan bishops, who under canon law had ultimate oversight of the revenues of churches within their dioceses, to collect dues in dioceses in which Columban houses were situated. In 1161 Flaithbertach made a visitation of Osraige, a kingdom that was coterminous with the diocese of Ossory, during which he collected forty ounces of silver.[254] Or it might signify that Flaithbertach was accorded the privilege of wearing pontifical regalia – that is, the insignia (crosier, mitre, pectoral cross) and vestments of bishops with whom he would then have been regarded on ceremonial occasions as of equal or near equal status.[255]

The reorganisation which coincided with Flaithbertach's assumption of the headship of the Columban *familia* is evidenced in a major building programme at Derry. In 1155 Flaithbertach commissioned a new door for the church of Derry, with a more ambitious project inaugurated in 1162 when over eighty houses were demolished with the cooperation of Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn so as to enable the construction of an enclosing wall around the main ecclesiastical site.[256] This suggests a physical demarcation of religious and secular space. In 1163 a lime-kiln measuring sixty square feet was constructed in twenty days.[257] In 1164 a great church (*tempull mór*) ninety feet in length was built in just forty days, again with the support of Mac Lochlainn.[258] The physical renovation of the monastery was clearly intended to reflect the new-found status of its abbot as head of the Columban affiliation. Flaithbertach's reputation was such that in 1164 monastic officials came from the Columban foundation of Iona to Derry to petition him to assume the abbacy of Iona, an acknowledgement of restructuring within the Columban federation, but he was prevented from doing so by Gilla Meic Liac and Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn.[259] Gilla Meic Liac's opposition may have been grounded in part in the removal of the Columban headship to a location that was beyond his jurisdiction as primate.

It is typical of the annalistic coverage that more information can be recovered about Flaithbertach's collection of revenue and building projects than about the spiritual values of Derry or the Columban houses under his jurisdiction. However, the vernacular *Betha Coluim Cille*, composed at Derry 1150×70, affords some evidence for the monastic ethos within the Columban milieu. Fashioned in the form of a homily, its reformist tendencies are revealed by its clear commitment to religious values, with an emphasis on Colum Cille's chastity, wisdom and pilgrimage. Colum Cille's cordial relations with the principal monastic churches of Ireland are accorded more prominence than his relations with kings.

254 *AU, AFM*.
255 Cf. A. H. Sweet, 'The apostolic see and the heads of English religious houses', *Speculum*, 28 (1953), 468–84 at 474–84.
256 *AU* 1155, 1162, *AFM* 1162.
257 *AU, AFM* (where the dimensions are seventy square feet).
258 *AU, AFM* (where the length is eighty feet).
259 *AU*.

His association with secular rulers is confined to receiving grants of land from them, which may also reflect a reformist perspective by playing down the close interaction between the saint and kings that was such a prominent feature of the late-seventh-century Life of Columba composed by Adomnán of Iona. The twelfth-century Life could be said to recontextualise self-consciously the portrayal of Colum Cille, to redress the balance in the traditions relating to him that had accumulated by that date, in favour of more spiritual virtues.[260] The hagiographer of *Betha Coluim Cille* must have made a conscious decision to avoid material that would have been available to him in the eleventh-century preface and glosses on the *Amra Coluim Cille* which, for example, depicted Colum Cille's attendance at the royal convention of Druim Cett.[261] Instead, the hagiographer delineated a saint whose life provided a spiritual example for his followers and encouraged them to a renewal of their monastic vocation. The Life, which was probably intended primarily as readings in the monastic office, affords evidence for the revitalisation of the monastic vocation within the traditional structures of the Columban *familia*. While drawing on the Columban hagiographical tradition, it recreates the past in a new image, foregrounding the ascetic dimension.

Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn was assassinated in 1166,[262] Gilla meic Liac died in 1174,[263] and Flaithbertach Ua Brolcháin died in 1175;[264] and with their deaths the attempt to bring the Columban houses more into line with reformist structures dissipated. Important Columban houses like Kells, Durrow, Swords, Moone and Lambay failed to survive as specifically Columban communities, being overtaken by the Continental monastic observances promoted by Malachy and the upheavals that were to result from Anglo-Norman intervention from 1167 onwards.

Overall, there is little doubt that Malachy's introduction of Augustinian and Cistercian usages had a major impact on monastic institutions in the twelfth-century Irish church and that a substantial transfer of ecclesiastical rights and lands took place from early Irish foundations to those churches designated as episcopal sees on the one hand and to newly formed or re-formed Augustinian and Cistercian communities on the other. The attendant redistribution of economic resources remains to be investigated in detail. Although it has been described as 'asset-stripping',[265] this arguably fails to do justice to those individuals and established communities who voluntarily and enthusiastically adopted the monastic usages promoted by Malachy.

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260 See above, p. 15.
261 M. Herbert, 'The preface to *Amra Coluim Cille*' in D. Ó Corráin, L. Breatnach, and K. McCone (eds), *Sages, Saints and Storytellers: Celtic Studies in Honour of Professor James Carney* (Maynooth, 1989), 67–75.
262 *AU*, *AT*, *AI* 1166.6, *AFM*, *MIA* 1165.2 (recte 1166).
263 *AU*, *AT*, *AI* 1174.2, *AFM*.
264 *AU*, *ALC*, *AFM*.
265 P. Harbison, 'Church reform and Irish monastic culture in the twelfth century', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, 52 (2000), 1–12 at 3.

5

'RULES AND GOOD CONDUCT':
THE RE-FORMATION OF LAY SOCIETY

Few questions are more essential, yet more difficult to answer, than the impact that reformist ideology may have had on lay society. It is well-nigh impossible to penetrate the religious aspirations, beliefs and responses to clerical teaching of lay people in twelfth-century Ireland since most were illiterate. The very term laity obscures the fact that there may have been a wide spectrum of different viewpoints among the varied social gradations. It is equally difficult to discern the points of contact and the differences between lay and clerical attitudes. Educated clergy might issue instructions: how the teachings of the church and its prescriptions for the laity were received is less clear. Even among clergy there may have been substantial differences between the educated – some abroad, or with experience of Continental travel – the half-educated or the outright ignorant. At the most learned end of the spectrum were individuals like Flann (Florint) Ua Gormáin, who died in 1174 as chief scholar of the church of Armagh, having previously spent twenty-one years studying among the Franks and the English and a further twenty-one years 'directing the schools of Ireland'.[1] The Annals of Tigernach described him as *ardmaighistir* ('chief master'). That title, derived from Latin *magister*, rather than the more ubiquitous *fer léigind* ('man of [ecclesiastical] reading'), is suggestive of an education in a Continental cathedral school or embryonic university and mastery of a useful discipline.[2] Laity and clergy are thus convenient labels that obscure gradations and differences within and between the two groups; and, in addition, it is not possible to penetrate the minds of those who were alienated: the anti-clerical, dissenters or heretics. We hardly know of their existence apart from the recalcitrant heretical cleric whom Bernard mentioned in his Life of Malachy as doubting the doctrine of the Real Presence.[3] There were certainly scoffers, such as those who ridiculed Malachy's

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1 *AU, ALC, AFM, AT, ABoyle.* In *AT* and *ABoyle* his name is given as Florint, suggesting that he used Florentius as his Latinised name. Flann was seventy years old when he died and had spent twenty years teaching following his return to Ireland. This would assign his period of study abroad to the years 1133–54.

2 For Máel Caemgin Ua Gormáin, *maighistir* of Louth, see above, p. 153. Cf. the death-notice of the otherwise unknown Gilla Críst Ua Máel Beltaine, noble priest and *ardmaighistir*, who died in 1160: *AT, AFM.*

3 Above, p. 107.

building of a new-style church at Bangor, calling him an ape.[4] And there were satirists, such as the author of the Vision of Mac Conglinne, who parodied the genres of Voyage and Vision tales, homiletic and hagiographical literature and the institution of penance in a blasphemous manner.[5] The layman does not speak directly to us, although it could be argued that kings come closest to doing so in the letters and charters issued in their names which recorded their personal relations with churchmen and their ecclesiastical patronage, and in propaganda texts compiled on their behalf, such as *Cogad Gaedel re Gallaib*, the early-twelfth-century heroic biography of Brian Bóruma (*ob.* 1014), which was written to endorse the high-kingship of his great-grandson Muirchertach Ua Briain (*ob.* 1119), and which anachronistically depicted Brian as an enthusiastic re-builder of churches who also sent professors and masters (*maighistreacha*) to buy books overseas because books in Irish churches had been destroyed by vikings; and Brian himself 'gave the price of learning and the price of books to each one individually who undertook this service'.[6] Brian was thereby implicitly depicted as a supporter of renewal and reform.[7] More pervasively, throughout the text Brian was presented as liberating Ireland from the ravages of savage heathen vikings whose paganism was sensationally played up, by contrast with earlier more sober accounts of their activities. Brian's portrayal as the pious leader of a righteous Christian army protecting Ireland from a heathen foe might conceivably even be a reflex of the contemporary Crusading movement.[8] Bearing the Crusades in mind, the camel sent as a gift to Muirchertach Ua Briain in 1105 from Edgar, king of Scots, may have been acquired in the context of crusading activity and could have heightened awareness of the Holy Land at Muirchertach's court.[9]

In addition to general advocacy of 'rules and good conduct'[10] there are two critical areas, on the basis of extant evidence, in which reformist churchmen sought to change the behaviour of the laity: first, the high levels of violence and

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4 *Vita Malachiae*, 365–8. As pointed out by R. T. Meyer (transl.), *The Life and Death of Saint Malachy the Irishman* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1978), 144, the metaphor of an ape was common in Latin literature; the analogy should probably be attributed to Bernard as hagiographer rather than to Malachy's fellow Ulstermen.

5 For its date and criticism of the monasteries of Kells and Cork, see above, pp. 163–4. Cf. S. J. Gwara, 'Gluttony, lust and penance in the B-text of *Aislinge Meic Conglinne*', *Celtica*, 20 (1988), 53–72.

6 J. H. Todd (ed.), *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh: The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, or the Invasions of Ireland by the Danes and Other Norsemen*, Rolls Series (London, 1867), 112–13; above, p. 23.

7 M. Ní Mhaonaigh, 'Literary manifestations of twelfth-century reform' in D. Bracken and D. Ó Riain-Raedel (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century: Reform and Renewal* (Dublin, 2006), 149–51.

8 Ibid., 150.

9 *AI* 1105.7. King Alexander (1107–24) received gifts of an Arab steed and Turkish armour from the Holy Land: A. D. Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades, 1095–1560* (Edinburgh, 1985), 14.

10 For *riagla ocus sobhesa*, see *AU²* 1111.8, 1126.8, 1129.3, 1158, 1162, *AFM* 1148, 1151, 1158, 1162; above, pp. 42–3, 166.

killing in Irish society, and, second, Irish marriage practices. That both issues more directly concerned the powerful in society is tellingly highlighted by the portrayal of Cormac Mac Carthaig, king of Munster (*ob.* 1138), in the Vision of Tnugdal, which, although written in an Irish monastery at Regensburg in 1149, was nevertheless intended to provide models of behaviour for contemporary Irish kings who were notable patrons of the *Schottenkongregation*. In his vision of heaven and hell Tnugdal identified Cormac Mac Carthaig among the denizens in heaven, a reward the king had earned through his protection of, and beneficence to, 'Christ's poor and pilgrims': in other words, in his role as a protector of monks and a builder of churches.[11] Yet Cormac had to endure the pain of standing in fire up to his waist with his upper body clothed in a hairshirt for three hours every day because of two sins for which he had not fully atoned: 'he had sullied the sacrament of lawful marriage';[12] and he had ordered one of his counts to be killed, thereby both dishonouring St Patrick and repudiating his own sworn oath. Presumably, St Patrick was dishonoured because Cormac had sworn an oath in the church dedicated to Patrick at Cashel, or on a relic associated with Patrick, such as the *Bachall Ísu*. Apart from those two transgressions for which the king was still doing penance, however, all his other sins had been remitted because of his generosity to the church.

War and violence

Clerical concerns about the levels of bloodshed and the consequences of warfare and destruction not only for individual churches but more generally on lay society may be gauged by the role exercised by prominent ecclesiastics as brokers of peace agreements throughout the twelfth century, as recorded in the annals. Among the clergy, the head of the church of Armagh was most in demand in the early decades of the twelfth century. Peace agreements negotiated by him are recorded in 1097, 1099, 1102, 1105, 1107, 1109, 1113, 1126 and 1128;[13] and

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11 *Visio Tnugdali*; *44–*6; *Vision of Tnugdal*, 144–6. For *pauperes Christi* as monks who embraced voluntary poverty rather than *pauperes mundi*, or the indigent poor, see G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996), 148–9, 318.

12 It may be more than coincidence that Bernard of Clairvaux recounted that Cormac Mac Carthaig, while in penitential exile at Lismore, used to 'extinguish the evil burning lust of his flesh with a daily bath of cold water': *Vita Malachiae*, 318; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 25. The author of the Vision of Tnugdal stated in his prologue that Bernard was writing the Life of Malachy 'in magnificent style': *Visio Tnugdali*, *3, *Vision of Tnugdal*, 110. It was appropriate that the 'fire of fornication' should be extinguished by the flames of purgatory. For an earlier example, cf. S. Connolly, '*Vita prima Sanctae Brigitae*: background and historical value', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 119 (1989), 5–49 at 44, § 97.6, where lust is extinguished by the pain of fire.

13 *AU²* 1097.6, 1099.7, 1102.8, 1105.3, 1107.8, 1109.5, 1113.7–8, 1126.8, 1128.5, 7, 9; above, p. 42. It may also be inferred in 1130 when Conchobar Ua Lochlainn made peace with the king of Ulaid at Armagh: *AU²* 1130.5. Entries between 1131 and 1154 are missing from *AU*.

in 1102 the hostages of Muirchertach Ua Briain, king of Munster, and Domnall Mac Lochlainn, king of Cenél nEógain, candidates for the high-kingship, had been handed over to the protection of Cellach of Armagh, evidently because of fears for their safety.

Churches were undoubtedly caught up in the harrying and plundering that characterised much local warfare and, as recorded in innumerable annalistic entries, incurred injuries not only to their own personnel and property but also to lay persons. In 1038, for example, there was a fray between the men of Uí Maine and Delbna 'in the middle of Clonmacnois' on the feast of its patron, St Ciarán (9 September), during which many were slain.[14] In 1095 Clonmacnois was plundered by the men of Conmaicne 'when the door of the church was barricaded with stones' and nearly the entire settlement was laid waste, the situation being so grave that 'the women could not reside separately, but were joined with their men'.[15] In 1117 Máel Brigte, head of the church of Kells, together with a number of the community, were killed by Áed Ua Ruairc, king of Bréifne.[16] In 1123 the men of Gailenga attacked the ecclesiastical settlement of Duleek 'against Murchad Ua Máel Sechlainn, king of Mide', burning some eighty houses and killing many of Ua Máel Sechlainn's followers, who had obviously taken refuge there.[17] In the same year, the head of the church of Emly was attacked by Gilla Caech Ua Ciarmaic so as to injure the king of Áine; and, although the majority of the 'nobility' escaped through the grace of the patronal saint Ailbe, the *Bernán* of Ailbe – a bell-shrine associated with the saint – was destroyed. As the annalist triumphantly noted, the attacker was caught and beheaded within the month 'for offending Ailbe and God', in that order![18] In 1155 Amlaíb Ua hEtersceóil, king of Corca Laígde, was killed in front of the door of the church of St Brénainn of Birr.[19]

Warfare was so generalised in 1145 that Ireland was described as 'a trembling sod'.[20] In consequence of the battle of Móin Mór in 1151, Munster, 'both church and state', was much injured and, because of a dearth of food, the peasantry

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14 *AU²* 1038.5. For an attack on Clonmacnois in 1050 that occasioned eight poetic lines of lament, see E. Bhreathnach, 'Learning and literature in early medieval Clonmacnoise' in H. King (ed.), *Clonmacnoise Studies, Volume 2: Seminar Papers 1998* (Dublin, 2003), 98–9.

15 *Nec potuerunt mulieres habitare seorsum, sed commixtae fuerunt cum viris suis*: *CS* 1091=1095; cf. *AT*. The status of these women is unclear. Gearóid Mac Niocaill translated 'the women could not dwell apart but were mingled with their husbands': http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100016/index.html (accessed 3 May 2010).

16 *AU²* 1117.3, *AFM*, *AI* 1117.3, where it is described as a martyrdom. The attack occurred on the vigil of Domnach Crom Duib, the last Sunday in July or first in August, which took its name from Crom Dub, an opponent of Patrick who reputedly converted on that day. See M. MacNéill, *The Festival of Lughnasa: A Study of the Survival of the Celtic Festival of the Beginning of Harvest* (London, 1962), 17–19, 28–33 and passim.

17 *AU²* 1123.1.

18 *AU²* 1123.2.

19 *MIA*.

20 *AFM*. It is not possible to determine whether *ina fód critigh* was actually carried over by the seventeenth-century annalists from an earlier source.

either migrated to other parts of Ireland or perished owing to famine.[21] People and cattle were seized regularly during fighting. In 1110 a raid into Connacht by Domnall Mac Lochlainn, king of Cenél nEógain, resulted in the capture of a thousand prisoners and a thousand head of cattle.[22] These figures are, of course, no more than round totals used by the annalist to express the severity of the raid. Crops were also destroyed, which contributed to food shortages and hardship: in 1104 the tillage and corn of the plain of Muirthemne were devastated by Muirchertach Ua Briain, king of Munster and high-king, while taking an army northwards against Domnall Mac Lochlainn, king of Cenél nEógain.[23]

Individual churches and clergy had always sought to protect themselves by invoking spiritual sanctions. The more actively interventionist role by prominent churchmen in secular conflicts in a bid to reduce the severity of the impact of war was new. And as the scale of warfare escalated, so did the measures deployed by clergy. From at least the mid twelfth century onwards the head of the church of Armagh, the acknowledged successor of Patrick but now also archbishop and primate, was joined by the archbishops of Cashel, Tuam and Dublin as negotiators and guarantors. It was not only the wanton destruction, killing and human suffering that concerned clergy, but also the breaking of oaths sworn in the negotiation of peace treaties, to which clergy, acting as facilitators who provided the relics on which oaths were sworn, were frequently participants. Because of the gap in the Annals of Ulster between 1131 and 1154 there is less annalistic coverage of Malachy's peace-brokering activities than of those of Cellach, his predecessor at Armagh. Admittedly, Malachy was head of the church of Armagh and in possession of its insignia for only a two-year period between 1134 and 1136, although he returned to Ireland in 1140 with the status of papal legate conjoined to his office as bishop of Down. The legateship may not necessarily have increased his authority as a negotiator and guarantor, however, since although he brought back a mitre, stole and maniple that had been given to him personally by Pope Innocent II[24] these were not recognisably venerable insignia[25] with the status of relics such as the *Bachall Ísu*. Nonetheless, Malachy's role as a mediator is recorded in an annalistic entry in 1147 when Tadc Ua Briain was released from captivity 'at the intercession of the bishops of Ireland', named as Malachy, Muiredach Ua Dubthaig, archbishop of Tuam, and Domnall Ua Lonngargáin, archbishop of Cashel.[26] This attests to the expanding

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21 *AT, AFM* 1151.

22 *AU²* 1110.9. The number of prisoners is 3000 in *AFM*.

23 *AU²* 1104.5. On the scale and conduct of warfare in twelfth-century Ireland, see M. T. Flanagan, 'Irish and Anglo-Norman warfare in the twelfth century' in T. Bartlett and K. Jeffery (eds), *A Military History of Ireland* (Cambridge, 1996), 52–75; J. Gillingham, 'Killing and mutilating political enemies' in B. Smith (ed.), *Britain and Ireland, 900–1300: Insular Responses to Medieval European Change* (Cambridge, 1999), 114–34.

24 *Vita Malachiae*, 344, *St Malachy the Irishman*, 53; above, p. 26.

25 *Vita Malachiae*, 334, *St Malachy the Irishman*, 42.

26 *AFM*. This entry indicates, on the one hand, the active role of bishops and, on the other, that

role of specifically episcopal office-holders as mediators in the wider political arena.

Bernard of Clairvaux emphasised Malachy's role as a peace-maker. In his sermon delivered in 1149 on the first anniversary of Malachy's death, he recounted how Malachy was 'particularly anxious about and very successful in restoring peace to those in disagreement' and 'not afraid to admonish the powerful'.[27] Malachy lashed out at tyrants and acted as a teacher of kings and princes; 'it was he who forced to peace those men who had broken the peace, who had given themselves up to the spirit of error'. Malachy miraculously foiled defaulters of a peace pact when a small fordable stream turned into an uncrossable river impeding their passage. That miracle is likely to have derived from Irish material supplied to Bernard, as there are incidents in Irish hagiography where saints avert killing and bloodshed by separating protagonists with physical or illusory barriers.[28] It suggests that already by November 1149 Bernard had received material from Ireland for his Life of Malachy. The theme of peace-maker is elaborated in Bernard's Life, where three miracles, one of which repeats the incident previously deployed in Bernard's first sermon on Malachy, are recounted in succession, thereby highlighting the importance of this attribute.[29] Malachy is described as restoring peace by a 'granting and receiving of security and oath-binding upon two parties' and, when one party sought to breach the peace, they were impeded from doing so by a stream that became a river. On another occasion, a noble did not trust a king enough to make peace with him unless the arbiter was Malachy or another ecclesiastic whom the king held in equal reverence. Despite the negotiated peace, the noble was captured by the king and put in chains. Malachy sought his release, remonstrating with the king that he had 'acted unfairly, against the Lord, against me, and against yourself in transgressing the covenant. … The man entrusted himself to my guarantee. If he should die I have betrayed him and I am guilty of his blood … You should realise that I will eat nothing, until he is freed nor will these [my companions].' Malachy thereupon entered the church and persisted in fasting and prayer for the remainder of that day and the following night. Fearing the power of Malachy's prayers if he remained in the vicinity, the king took flight but was pursued and

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Muiredach Ua Dubthaig was claiming archiepiscopal status although Tuam did not formally receive a papal pallium until the synod of Kells, 1152.

27 *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, vi/I, 51; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 108.

28 Cf. S. Connolly and J.-M. Picard, 'Cogitosus's Life of Brigit: content and value', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Ireland*, 117 (1987), 5–27 at 18, where a fordable river becomes impassable; ibid., 20, where a miracle of illusion prevents bloodshed; Connolly, '*Vita prima Sanctae Brigitae*', 31–3. In the Life of Flannán, enemies of King Theodoricus killed each other through divine intervention, while another lot were rooted to the ground so that they could not move: *Vita Flannani*, 290, 295. For miracles of illusion that confused enemies, see further D. A. Bray, *A List of Motifs in the Lives of the Early Irish Saints*, FF Communications, 252 (Helsinki, 1992), 125.

29 *Vita Malachiae*, 361–4; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 72–6.

struck blind as punishment for his failure to abide by the terms he had agreed. The king had sinned against God because he had violated his oath. This anecdote surely derived from Irish material supplied to Bernard, since it reflected the customary Irish legal procedure of fasting (*troscud*) against an individual of high status or power in order to pressure him into conceding justice.[30] By going into hiding, the king had implicitly recognised the validity of Malachy's action.

In the description of Ireland that prefaced the Vision of Tnugdal, its author drew on Bede's idealised depiction of Ireland as a land of milk and honey, to which, however, he made the notable addition that it was 'quite famous for its cruel battles'.[31] Tnugdal encounters among the 'not quite good' in the intermediate zone between heaven and hell – those who were still awaiting full remission of their sins before they could enter heaven – two kings, Donnchad and Conchobar, and was amazed to find them in amity after death since they had been such mortal enemies in life.[32] The angel explained that they had repented of their enmity before they died, which was why it was not held against them as a fault; that Conchobar had been ill for a long time and had vowed if he survived that he would become a monk; and that Donnchad, having spent many years bound in chains, had given everything he owned to the poor, which was the reason why he too would eventually merit heaven. To Tnugdal the angel said, 'As for you, you will tell all these things to the living.' The moral message was that hatred and enmity required repentance and atonement and that, in any event, enemies might find themselves together in the next life, thereby emphasising the futility of earthly feuds. The kings awaiting entry into heaven can be identified as Conchobar Ua Briain, king of Thomond (1118–42), and Donnchad Mac Carthaig, king of Desmond (1138–43), and the annals afford ample evidence of warfare in the early decades of the twelfth century between their Dál Cais and Eóganacht dynasties. Conchobar's death-notice in the Annals of Tigernach bears out the circumstantial details in the Vision of Tnugdal. Described as 'an attacker of Ireland', he 'contracted an illness and died thereof at Killaloe in his pilgrimage'.[33] In the case of Donnchad, it is recorded that he was taken prisoner by the men of Déise who afterwards delivered him to Conchobar's successor, Toirdelbach Ua Briain, and that he died in fetters on Loch Gur in 1144 while still held hostage.[34]

In the Life of St Flannán there is an emphasis on how the saint as bishop of Killaloe brought two provincial kings together and begged them to accept his mediation. Having brought about their reconciliation, he then bound them by oath to observe a truce (*treuga*) for a year.[35] The hagiographer's use of *treuga* indicates that he was drawing an analogy with the Continental Truce of God

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30 Above, p. 107, below, p. 180, for an instance in 1143.
31 *Visio Tnugdali*, *5; *Vision of Tnugdal*, 111.
32 *Visio Tnugdali*, *43; *Vision of Tnugdal*, 143.
33 *AT*; *AFM* add 'after a victory of penance'.
34 *MIA* 1143.1, *AFM* 1143, 1144.
35 *Vita Flannani*, 294.

movement, by which the church had sought to limit the impact of warfare. The distinction between the Truce of God movement and the somewhat earlier Peace of God movement was that the former was chiefly concerned with constraining aristocratic warfare at specified periods, while the Peace of God movement was aimed more at the protection of defenceless individuals and their property.[36] Flannán's dying instructions emphasised the propriety of encouraging 'concord among the people of different provinces'.[37] The occurrence of this theme in Flannán's Life is significant when considered alongside an entry in the Annals of Inisfallen for 1040 which recorded that 'a law and ordinance was made by Brian's son, such as was not enacted in Ireland since Patrick's time: to the effect that none should dare to steal, or do feats of arms on Sunday, nor go out on Sunday carrying any load; and furthermore that none should dare to fetch cattle within doors'.[38] This *cáin 7 rechtge* was enacted by Donnchad, son of Brian Bóruma of the Dál Cais dynasty, of which Flannán in his Life was presented as the patronal saint, a kinsman therefore of Donnchad, and while it was concerned with Sunday observance it also sought to limit the incidence of violence with its related activity of cattle-stealing, another theme in the Life of Flannán.[39] In 1050

> Much inclement weather happened in the land of Ireland, which carried away corn, milk, fruit, and fish from the people, so that there grew up dishonesty among all, that no protection was extended to church nor stronghold, godparenthood (*cairdes Críst*) nor mutual oath, until the clergy and laity of Munster assembled, with their warriors (*laoich*) under Donnchad son of Brian, that is, the son of the king of Ireland, at Killaloe, where they enacted a law and a restraint upon every injustice small to great. God gave peace and favourable weather in consequence of this law (*cáin*).[40]

This may have been intended as a re-enactment of the 1040 ordinance. According to Rodolfus Glaber the expectation of the Peace gatherings which he described around 1000 was that their terms would be renewed in five years' time.[41] The Peace of God movement on the Continent had aimed to prohibit fighting among the military classes under the threat of ecclesiastical censures: ecclesiastics sought to take responsibility for public order in the absence, or failure, of rulers

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36 For Rodolfus Glaber's description of these two movements, writing 1036×41, and the coining of the term *treuga Domini*, see his *Five Books of the Histories*, ed. J. France, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1989), 194–9, 236–9.

37 *Vita Flannani*, 298.

38 *AI* 1040.6. Cf. the lacunose entry, 'A great murrain of cattle … Brian's son, that is, Donnchad', which may refer to an earlier enactment: *AI* 1033.8.

39 Above, p. 95.

40 *AFM*; cf. *AI* 1050.2. See also the *cáin 7 rechtge* passed by Toirdelbach Ua Briain in Munster in 1068, which resulted in neither cow nor horse having to be housed but able to wander at will in safety: *AI* 1068.4.

41 Rodolfus Glaber, *Five Books of the Histories*, 196–7.

to do so. The beginning of the Peace of God movement is usually identified as the council of Le Puy in 975, where the local bishop, Guy, demanded from an assembly of laymen an oath to preserve the peace and to respect the property of the church and the 'poor' – that is, the ordinary population.[42] There followed a series of councils, chiefly in southern France, but spreading also to other regions, which enjoined associated measures. A prohibition of violence on Sundays is first evidenced in the council of Toulouges in 1027. Although the Peace of God and Truce of God legislation is associated predominantly with southern France, it did have wider repercussions. Donnchad's 1040 ordinance, for example, probably reflects knowledge of such Continental developments. And in 1043 the German emperor Henry III proclaimed a formal pardon of all his enemies and exhorted his subjects to peace and forgiveness. It has been argued that the mid eleventh century saw the culmination of the movement, which thereafter did not show the same vitality.[43] But while the incidence of specific conciliar enactments may have indeed lessened, the movement had a longer lasting effect insofar as it altered perceptions of the role of ecclesiastics, more especially bishops, in society. Bishops had accepted a responsibility for the furtherance of peace, the theological foundation for which was rooted in the realisation of the peace that Christ had enjoined on his apostles before he ascended into heaven: 'Peace I leave with you, my peace I give to you' (John, 14:27). Furthermore, the Peace of God movement on the Continent has been identified as an integral element of the church reform movement.[44] Although the participation of large crowds and sense of revivalist enthusiasm that is recorded on the Continent cannot be demonstrated in Ireland owing to a lack of elaborated annalistic accounts, other features of the Peace of God movement – the swearing of an oath, the deployment of relics of the saints and the penalty of excommunication for miscreants – are very evident.

One of the principal peacekeeping strategies deployed by Irish ecclesiastics was the exaction of oaths from feuding parties fortified with the sanction of relics. Oath-taking on relics was indubitably a custom that pre-dated the twelfth century, but it was now harnessed in a more intensive way to try and control the increasing levels of violence in society.[45] The assumption by clerics, more especially bishops in the course of the twelfth century, of a duty of leadership to try and restore right order in society can be identified as a reformist strategy. Much earlier, in 697, with the passing of the Law of the Innocents (*Lex Innocentium*), Adomnán, abbot of Iona (*ob.* 704), had sought to use his authority as the successor of Colum Cille and his royal connections to lessen the impact of war on non-combatants such as clergy, the unarmed and women. A loss of leadership

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42 H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'The peace and truce of God in the eleventh century', *Past and Present*, 46 (1970), 42–67.

43 Ibid., 54.

44 K. G. Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy in the Eleventh Century: Spirituality and Social Change* (Manchester, 2005), 39–54.

45 For examples, see *AU²* 1101.8, 1130.5, 1160, *AFM* 1015, 1130, 1140, 1143, 1159, 1179.

on the part of Columban monasteries by the twelfth century may be gauged by the fact that there appears to have been no attempt by the head of the Columban filiation to reclaim such a humanitarian role. An entry inserted into the gospel-book of Kells indicates more narrow self-interest: it detailed how Conchobar Ua Máel Sechlainn, king of Mide (1030–73), had sworn unconditional protection for Gilla Coluim Ua hÁeda and associates on the relics of Colum Cille in the presence of Máel Muire Ua hUchtáin, *comarba* of Colum Cille – that is, head of the Columban filation – but, despite the king's sworn guarantee, he had nevertheless carried off those whom he had undertaken not to injure and blinded them; as a penalty for that outrage he was obliged to grant the immunity of the church of Kildalkey to the monastery of Kells: 'and though it is risky for anyone to flout Colum Cille, it is more risky for a king, and though it is risky for any king, it is more risky for the king of Tara, for he is kin to Colum Cille'.[46] This is testimony to the more limited aims on the part of the head of the Columban filiation of monasteries by the mid eleventh century, the primary concern being the dishonouring of his own status, with less obvious care for the greater good of society.

Internecine war was an issue raised in the letters sent by the Irish bishops under the leadership of Gilla Críst (Christianus) Ua Connairche, bishop of Lismore and papal legate, to Pope Alexander III in the aftermath of King Henry II's expedition to Ireland, 1171–2, as may be deduced from the pope's letters in reply. To the Irish kings the pope hoped that 'a greater peace and tranquillity will be made to prevail in your land', admonishing them 'to preserve firm and unbroken the loyalty which by solemn oath' they had sworn to Henry.[47] To the Irish bishops Alexander expressed the aspiration that Henry II's intervention might bring greater peace to the Irish people, while at the same time ordering them to place ecclesiastical censure with the weight of apostolic authority on any Irish king or prince who acted contrary to oaths they had sworn.[48] To Henry, the pope hoped for amelioration for the 'people of Ireland who had torn themselves apart in internecine slaughter'.[49] The papal legate Gilla Críst Ua Connairche, before becoming bishop of Lismore in 1152, had been the first abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Mellifont, founded under Malachy's initiative in 1142, and so continuity in seeking to curtail the high levels of violence and reduce the incidence of oath-breaking may be traced via Malachy to Gilla Críst. The particular emphasis in Alexander III's letter is echoed by the Anglo-Norman chronicler Ralph of Diss, who, in justifying Henry II's intervention in Ireland, argued that because no public authority had been established among the Irish which could in any way through fear of legal penalties promise freedom from suffering, they all

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46 G. Mac Niocaill, 'The Irish "charters"' in F. O'Mahony (ed.), *The Book of Kells* (Aldershot, 1994), 157–8. Compensation for the kin of the murdered man is not recorded.

47 Sheehy, *Pontificia*, i, no. 7. For the preservation of Alexander III's letters in the Little Black Book of the Exchequer, see above, p. 6.

48 Ibid., no. 5.

49 Ibid., no. 6.

too frequently mourned their own fathers killed in internecine slaughter.[50] In similar vein the monastic historian William of Newburgh described Ireland as divided into many kingdoms and accustomed to have numerous kings and thereby perpetually be torn asunder by their quarrels; and even though Ireland might have enjoyed freedom from foreign warfare before the intervention of Henry II, it was torn apart by its own mutual slaughter.[51] The author of the *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*, 1185×90, by way of illustrating the lack of respect for human life among the Irish, described how an old man had made a full confession of his sins to him and, when finished, was asked if he had ever killed a man, to which he responded that he could not remember whether he had killed five or more and that, among others he had wounded, he did not know whether or not they had died. He had not confessed to these, 'for he thought that homicide was not a damnable sin'.[52]

One of the accusations levelled by the Anglo-Norman apologist Gerald of Wales against the Irish was their treachery, in that they did not fear to violate the oaths they had sworn. Gerald described how, under the guise of religion and peace, they would assemble at some holy place with the person whom they actually wished to kill. They would then make a treaty on the basis of their common ancestry.

> Then, in turn, they go around the church three times. They enter the church and, swearing a great variety of oaths before relics of saints placed on the altar, at last, with celebration of Mass and the prayers of the priest, they make an indissoluble treaty as if it were a kind of betrothal.[53]

One such negotiation is described in the Life of St Flannán: two kings, who were blood-relatives and continually at war with each other over the division of territory, met in the church of Lismore, where they vowed mutual friendship and ratified by oath the arrangement into which they had entered.[54] Unfortunately,

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50 W. Stubbs, *Radulphi de Diceto Opera Historica*, 2 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1876), i, 350.

51 *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* in R. Howlett (ed.), *Chronicles, Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, 4 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1885), i, 166–7.

52 R. Easting (ed.), *St Patrick's Purgatory: Two Versions of Owayne Miles and the Vision of William of Stranton together with the Long Version of the Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*, Early English Text Society, 298 (Oxford, 1991), 123. For a definition of damnable sin, see above, p. 74, n. 201.

53 *Giraldi Opera*, v, 167; Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, transl. J. J. O'Meara (Harmondsworth, 1982), 106–8. Cf. the identical *Missa pro pace* in the Corpus, Rosslyn and Drummond missals: F. E. Warren (ed.), *The Manuscript Irish Missal Belonging to the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford* (London, 1879), 64; H. J. Lawlor, *The Rosslyn Missal: An Irish Manuscript in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 15 (London, 1899), 87–8; G. H. Forbes (ed.), *Missale Drummondiense: The Ancient Irish Missal in the Possession of the Baroness Willoughby de Eresby, Drummond Castle, Perthshire* (Edinburgh, 1882), 26.

54 *Vita Flannani*, 286.

there is a missing folio at this point in the Codex Salmanticensis manuscript and thus Flannán's posthumous role in the peace negotiation is lost;[55] the peace accord, however, is dated to the year in which the Emperor of the Romans laid siege to and razed to the ground the city of Milan – that is, Frederick Barbarossa's attack in 1162. There are substantial lacunae in the annalistic sources which make it difficult to link Flannán's miraculous skills to a particular negotiated truce in that year. It probably refers, however, to the struggle between the first cousins, Donnchad, son of Donnchad Mac Carthaig, and Diarmait, son of Cormac Mac Carthaig, for the kingship of Desmond: in 1162 Diarmait imprisoned Donnchad, who managed to escape, but in 1163 he was killed by Diarmait at Lismore despite the sworn guarantees on relics that had been made between them.[56] Gerald of Wales's specific criticism that brothers and kinsmen were at especial risk is borne out by numerous instances recorded in the annals which also attest that Irish clergy recognised kin-slaying among the aristocracy as a repugnant practice which they sought to limit. In the Vision of Tnugdal parricide and fratricide are explicitly stated to be more serious crimes than homicide, and their perpetrators were to be found, appropriately enough, since the two crimes frequently went hand in hand, along with the treacherous and the perfidious, in the first torment in hell.[57] In 1143 'a great assembly (*mórtinól*) was held by the clerics of Ireland and Connacht', including the pre-eminent Connacht bishop Muiredach Ua Dubthaig – 'five hundred priests and twelve bishops was their complement' – and they demanded the liberation by Toirdelbach Ua Conchobair, king of Connacht, of his son Ruaidrí, who had been taken prisoner by his own brother, Conchobar, and by Tigernán Ua Ruairc, king of Bréifne, acting under Toirdelbach's orders. Toirdelbach promised that he would deliver his son to the clergy by 1 May. Although it is claimed in the Annals of Tigernach that 'a perfect peace was made between father and son for the duration of three nights and a month and a year and a half', a grimmer reality is revealed in the Annals of the Four Masters: that the Connacht clergy had to fast against Toirdelbach Ua Conchobair at Ráith Brenainn (co. Roscommon) and yet still failed to secure Ruaidrí's release. It took a further convention of the clergy of

55 I have not had access to the recension of the *Vita Flannani* in the earliest manuscript of the Great Austrian Legendary (*Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*), Heiligenkreuz MS 14, completed before the end of the twelfth century, which recounts a miracle involving a crucifix on that occasion. See D. Ó Riain-Raedel, 'The travels of Irish manuscripts: from the continent to Ireland' in T. Barnard, D. Ó Cróinín, and K. Simms (eds), *'A Miracle of Learning': Studies in Manuscripts and Irish Learning: Essays in Honour of William O'Sullivan* (Aldershot, 1997), 52–67 at 56–7; eadem, 'Cashel and Germany: the documentary evidence' in D. Bracken and D. Ó Riain-Raedel (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century: Reform and Renewal* (Dublin, 2006), 211.
56 *AI* 1162.3, 1163.6, *MIA* 1163.1, *AT*, *AFM*. Cf. the negotiations between two Ua Briain dynasts at Lismore in 1165 when Muirchertach, son of Toirdelbach, turned against his father and took the kingship of Thomond, whereupon Toirdelbach went to Lismore where he submitted to Diarmait Mac Carthaig, king of Desmond, and gave him hostages: *AI* 1165.2, *AT*.
57 *Visio Tnugdal*, *12–*13; *Vision of Tnugdal*, 119.

Ireland in 1144 to free Ruaidrí (along with Cathal Ua Conchobair and Domnall Ua Flaithbertaig), 'and they were set free for their hostages and their oath, and for the honour of the clerics'. This was immediately followed by another gathering of laity and clergy to negotiate 'the perfect peace of Ireland for as long as they should live', which proved just as ineffectual as previous attempts.[58] The escalating clerical response is caught in another instance in 1144 when Murchad Ua Máel Sechlainn, king of Mide, was taken prisoner by the same Toirdelbach Ua Conchobair while under the protection of an extensive array of relics and ecclesiastical guarantors:

> These were they: the altar of Ciarán [of Clonmacnois] with its relics, the shrine of Ciarán called the Oireanach, the *Matha mór* ('the great gospel of Matthew'), the abbot and the prior, and two out of every order in the church, Muiredach Ua Dubthaig, the archbishop of Connacht, the successor of Patrick and the *bachall Ísu*, the successor of Féchin [of Cong] and the bell of Féchin, and the *bobán* of Caemgin [? of Glendalough]. All these were between Toirdelbach and Murchad that there should be no treachery, no guile, no defection of the one from the other, no blinding, no imprisoning, and no circumscribing of Murchad's territory or land, until his crime should be evident to the sureties, and that they might proclaim him not entitled to protection; however, he was found guilty of no crime, even though he was taken captive. He was set at liberty at the end of a month afterwards, through the intervention of his sureties, and he was conveyed by his sureties into Munster; and the kingdom of Mide was given by Toirdelbach to his own son, Conchobar.[59]

The clerical protection afforded to Murchad Ua Máel Sechlain had been to no avail, since Toirdelbach Ua Conchobair went ahead and deposed him from the kingdom of Mide and arbitrarily installed his own son, Conchobar, as 'a stranger in sovereignty over the men of Mide'.[60]

In sum, there is substantial evidence that Irish clergy sought to contain the levels of violence in Irish society by acting as negotiators between enemies and dynastic rivals and as guarantors for the personal safety of individuals. This role was not specific to reformist clerics, but it was certainly a new departure that, as papal legate, Gilla Críst Ua Connairche sought to harness the weight of papal authority by way of reinforcement: he clearly threatened ecclesiastical sanctions with papal endorsement against those Irish kings who would dare to breach the oaths of loyalty sworn to King Henry II in 1171/2.[61] A further example of the

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58 *AT* 1143, 1144, *AFM* 1143, 1144, *AClon*, 197.

59 *AFM*, *AClon*, 197; cf. *AT*.

60 *AFM* 1145.

61 John de Courcy was to appeal for papal permission to be absolved from an oath that he had sworn to Hugh de Lacy II because the latter had failed to abide by their agreement: M. T. Flanagan,

harnessing of papal authority occurred at the synod convened by the papal legate, Cardinal Vivian, titular priest of St Stephen's on the Coelian Mount at Dublin in 1177, as recorded by Gerald of Wales: 'under threat of excommunication he sternly ordered clergy and people not to go back even in the smallest degree on the allegiance they had sworn to the king, by presuming to attempt any rash act of rebellion'.[62] The adverse consequences of war were also the subject of a legatine enactment by Vivian at the same council:

> Since it was the custom for the Irish to move their provisions to the protection of churches, he gave the English garrison permission to bring out of the churches any provisions they found there, if they were on an expedition and could not come by provisions from any other source, but they were first of all to pay a fair price to the custodians of the churches.[63]

Anglo-Norman intervention had not brought the peace for which Pope Alexander III, prompted by his legate, Gilla Críst Ua Connairche, had hoped. Rather, it only served to increase the levels of violence. At a provincial council in 1186 John Cumin, archbishop of Dublin, felt obliged 'to devise new remedies for the outbreak of a new disorder, namely archers who sell their warlike skills not for the defence of people, but for shameful gain and plunder'.[64] The archbishop decreed that in every parish (*parochia*) on each Sunday ecclesiastical censure was to be read against such mercenary fighters, with lighted candles and solemn pealing of bells, and they were to be deprived of a Christian burial. This reflected a decree of the third Lateran council (1179) that mercenaries, or those who hired or supported them, should be denounced publicly on Sundays and other solemn days and excommunicated if they did not cease from their practices.[65]

The censure by churchmen of reckless bloodshed carried growing political implications for kings, and a number of depositions from royal office with ecclesiastical sanction are attested in the annals. In 1150 a royal progress was made by Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn, king of Cenél nEógain and aspiring high-king to Inis Mochta (co. Louth), accompanied by the principal men of the north of Ireland. There he met Donnchad Ua Cerbaill, king of Airgialla, and Tigernán Ua Ruairc, king of Bréifne, and the hostages of Connacht were delivered to him 'through the blessing of Patrick and the successor of Patrick and his clergy' – that is, Gilla Meic Liac, archbishop of Armagh. At the same time, Murchad Ua Máel

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'John de Courcy, the first Ulster plantation and Irish church men' in B. Smith (ed.), *Britain and Ireland 900–1300: Insular Responses to Medieval European Change* (Cambridge, 1999), 173–4.

62 *Expugnatio*, 182–3; cf. *AFM* 1177.
63 *Expugnatio*, 182–3.
64 Sheehy, *Pontificia*, i, 52; idem, *When the Normans Came to Ireland* (Cork, 1975; reprinted 1998), 66.
65 3 Lateran 27 in N. P. Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols (London, 1990), 225.

Sechlainn, king of Mide, was banished 'through the malediction of the successor of Patrick and his clergy', and Mide was divided into three parts between Toirdelbach Ua Conchobair, king of Connacht, Ua Cerbaill and Ua Ruairc.[66] Unfortunately, the annalist did not explain in detail why Murchad Ua Máel Sechlainn warranted deposition with ecclesiastical endorsement. In 1152 Donnchad Ua Cerbaill, in turn, suffered temporary deposition from the kingship of Airgialla 'in revenge for the successor of Patrick whom he had wounded and violated some time before'.[67] The dissension between Ua Cerbaill and Gilla Meic Liac may have resulted from the transfer that had been effected by Malachy of a portion of the diocese of Armagh to the diocese of Airgialla, since the attack coincided with the Synod of Kells, convened under Cardinal John Paparo to grant papal approval to the ecclesiastical provinces and dioceses. It may be posited that in 1152 Gilla Meic Liac sought to recover the annexed territories for the diocese of Armagh, as this was subsequently achieved. The second Lateran council (1139) had decreed that any person who laid violent hands on a cleric was to be anathemised.[68] A further canon propounded that kings and princes were to dispense justice 'in consultation with the archbishops and bishops'.[69] In 1155 Donnchad Ua Máel Sechlainn, king of Mide, slew Gillagott Ua Ciarda at Clonard and was then deposed from the kingship 'in revenge of the dishonouring of St Finnian [patron of Clonard], and Diarmait son of Domnall Ua Máel Sechlainn was set up in his place'.[70] In 1157 Donnchad, son of Domnall Ua Máel Sechlainn, king of Mide, was deposed for treacherously slaying Cú Ulad Ua Caindelbáin, king of Láegaire, while he was under the protection of 'the successor of Patrick and the *Bachall Ísu*', the papal legate, Gilla Críst Ua Connairche, the successor of Colum Cille – that is, abbot of Derry – with his relics, Gréne, archbishop of Dublin, the abbot and monks of the Cistercian abbey of Mellifont, the successor of Ciarán of Clonmacnois, and the successor of Féchin (?of Fore).[71] Noteworthy is the broad spectrum of clergy drawn from both reformist circles and more conservative ecclesiastical centres. Shortly thereafter, 'a synodical meeting was convened by the clergy of Ireland and some of the kings' at Mellifont for the consecration of the abbey church by Gilla Meic Liac, archbishop of Armagh, and 'after the consecration of the church by the successor of Patrick, Donnchad Ua Máel Sechlainn was excommunicated by the clergy of Ireland and banished by the kings from the kingdom of Mide, and his brother, Diarmait, was made king in his place'.[72] No fewer than three kings of Mide and

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66 *AFM*.

67 *AT*, *AFM*.

68 2 Lateran 15 in Tanner, *Decrees*, 199–200. No bishop was to absolve such a person, unless he was in immediate danger of death, until he had secured absolution from the pope in person.

69 Ibid., 201–2.

70 *AFM*.

71 *AFM*, *AClon*, 201–2. Féchin was also patron of Termonfeckin and of Cong.

72 *AFM*.

the king of Airgialla suffered deposition with ecclesiastical endorsement in the brief period between 1150 and 1157 either because they had violated their oaths or attacked or dishonoured clergy. Conversely, the importance of securing ecclesiastical endorsement for rulership is demonstrated by the royal assembly of clergy and laity convened in 1167 by Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair, king of Connacht and aspiring high-king, at which were present the archbishops of Armagh, Tuam and Dublin, at which 'they passed many good resolutions at this meeting respecting veneration for churches and clerics'; and those kings present obliged the men of Uí Failge to make restitution for his plundering (*crech*) to the successor of Patrick.[73]

In the militarised society of twelfth-century Ireland, clergy, acting as mediators between political rivals and as protectors of the vulnerable, endeavoured to contain the level of violence. Significant is the extent to which the episcopate assumed that role alongside, and increasingly instead of, the heads of long-established churches. In the case of the archbishop of Armagh, it readily ensued from his status as the successor of Patrick (*comarba Pátraic*), but the involvement of, for example, Gréne (Gregorius), archbishop of Dublin, in the deposition of the king of Mide in 1157 clearly demonstrates the strength of episcopal leadership in relation to the more recently created diocesan sees.

Marriage in twelfth-century Ireland

The sexual practices of the laity and the right form of marriage constituted another important area in which churchmen sought to bring about substantive change. Marriage was seen as the distinctive feature of the lay order and concern for its correct observance proceeded in parallel with the definition of the duties of the clergy.[74] By the twelfth century Irish marriage customs contravened canon law in three particular respects. First, marriages were contracted between partners who were related within the prohibited degrees of kinship, both by consanguinity (blood relationships) and by affinity (relationships forged through marriage). Such marriages were regarded as incestuous unions. Secondly, divorce and remarriage were enacted contrary to canon law without due regard to the ecclesiastical procedures of separation or annulment. Thirdly, monogamy was compromised by the toleration of concubinage, or subsidiary marriage, a practice that was rendered easier by the allowance under customary Irish law of full inheritance rights to offspring of such a union, with the consequence that it did not necessarily affect the disposition of landed property or inheritance; there was therefore little incentive to curtail the practice among the property-owning elite.

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73 *AFM.*

74 Cf. Gillebertus's definition of the laity as *carnales et conjugatos*: J. Fleming, *Gille of Limerick (c. 1070–1145): Architect of a Medieval Church* (Dublin, 2001), 146–7.

Whether the criticisms of Irish marriage practices made by external commentators such as Archbishops Lanfranc and Anselm of Canterbury, Bernard of Clairvaux and Gerald of Wales were relevant to all sections of society may be doubted. The lower strata who figure in Irish hagiographical texts are generally presented as life-long spouses in monogamous marriages with genuine affection and concern for each other and for their children. In the case of the wife in Adomnán's Life of Columba *ca* 700 who found her husband, a boatman from Rathlin Island, so repulsive until the saint's prayers turned her to conjugal love, her proposed solution to her difficulty had not been divorce but to enter a religious community.[75] It was pre-eminently royal and aristocratic families who had not only the economic resources but also the political motivation to engage in multiple marriages and close-kin marriage. Marriage was used as a form of alliance, characterised by expediency in the face of volatile political changes: a new marriage was a relatively common response among the political elite to abrupt shifts in political power.[76] The link between the negotiation of political alliances and marriages is spelled out by Gerald of Wales when he described 'the restoration of peace' between Diarmait Mac Murchada, king of Leinster, and Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair, king of Connacht and high-king, following Diarmait's return to Ireland in 1167. In order that the peace agreement should remain firm Diarmait 'gave Ruaidrí his son, Conchobar, as a hostage for its observance. Ruaidrí for his part promised to give Conchobar his daughter in marriage when in due course of time the peace had gained stability by its terms having been translated into deeds.'[77] Political necessity overrode moral or religious concerns. Clearly, the Irish royal and landed elite did not have to fear the severe dislocations that the uncovering by clergy of a consanguineous union might produce elsewhere in Europe by the twelfth century.[78] In 1074 Archbishop Lanfranc had written to both Guthric, king of Dublin, and Toirdelbach Ua Briain, 'king of Ireland', condemning marriage practices in Ireland: 'There are said to be men in your kingdom who take wives from either their own kindred, or that of their deceased wives; others who by their own will and authority abandon the wives who are lawfully married to them; some who give their own wives to others and, by an abominable exchange, receive the wives of other men instead.'[79] Since Lanfranc indicated that he knew this by hearsay his informant must have been

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75 A. O. Anderson and M. O. Anderson (eds), *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1991), pp. 164–7; Adomnán of Iona, *Life of St Columba*; transl. R. Sharpe (Harmondsworth, 1995), 194–5.

76 A. Candon, 'Power, politics and poygamy [sic]: women and marriage in late pre-Norman Ireland' in D. Bracken and D. Ó Riain-Raedel (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century: Reform and Renewal* (Dublin, 2006), 106–27.

77 *Expugnatio*, 50–51.

78 See C. Bouchard, 'Consanguinity and noble marriages in the tenth and eleventh centuries', *Speculum*, 56 (1981), 268–71, where it is argued that the aristocracy was making a genuine effort to obey the consanguinity prohibition.

79 *Letters of Lanfranc*, no. 9; cf. no. 10.

Gilla Pátraic, newly consecrated bishop of Dublin, so that, in fact, the criticisms of consanguineous and affinal marriage and divorce and remarriage derived from an Irish ecclesiastic.[80] It was to be repeated more graphically by Anselm who, writing to Muirchertach Ua Briain, 'king of Ireland', asserted that 'husbands freely and publicly exchanged their wives for the wives of others, as if they were exchanging one horse for another'.[81] According to Gerald of Wales,

> Men in many places in Ireland, I shall not say marry, but rather debauch, the wives of their dead brothers. They abuse them in having such evil and incestuous relations with them. In this, wishing to imitate the ancients more eagerly in vice than in virtue, they follow the external teaching, and not the true doctrine, of the Old Testament.[82]

The allusion to the Old Testament may reflect an echo of justificatory debate that Gerald had encountered in Ireland. In the early vernacular law text *Bretha Crólige* ('Judgements of Blood-Lying'), *ca* 700, it is remarked that 'there is a dispute in Irish law as to which is more proper, whether many sexual unions or a single one: for the chosen [people] of God lived in plurality of unions, so that it is not easier to condemn it than to praise it'.[83]

There is all too little evidence about the extent to which Irish reformers succeeded in promoting canonical marriage, though condemnation of its flagrant flouting is occasionally revealed in critical death-notices in the annals of individuals who breached the canon law of marriage and, in consequence, suffered a deserved punishment. In 1171 the assassination of Magnus Mac Duinn Sléibe, king of Ulaid, by his brother was explained by the great evil that Magnus had committed, namely leaving his own wedded (*pósta*) wife and taking the wife of his foster-father, Cú Maige Ua Flainn; she had also previously been the wife of Magnus's brother, Áed, and Magnus had also inflicted violence on the wife of another of his brothers, Eochaid.[84] The annalist's censure related to Magnus's

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80 For the view that Gilla Pátraic sought consecration at Canterbury in 1074 directly from Ireland, see above, p. 10. A letter of Pope Gregory VII to Lanfranc, dated by modern editors to *ca* July 1073 – that is, before Lanfranc's letters to Guthric and Toirdelbach – had urged Lanfranc 'that you strive by all means to end the abomination of which we have heard concerning the *Scotti*, namely, that many of them not only abandon but even sell their own wives': H. E. J. Cowdrey (ed.), *The* Epistolae Vagantes *of Pope Gregory VII*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1972), 5; *Letters of Lanfranc*, 64–5. While scholars have queried whether *Scotti* should be interpreted as Irish or Scots, Cowdrey argues that it refers to the Irish because within Lanfranc's letter-collection the pope's letter immediately precedes Lanfranc's letters to Kings Guthric and Toirdelbach: H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk, and Archbishop* (Oxford, 2003), 145, n. 6. Gregory's letter would therefore constitute the first indication that the reformed papacy was taking an interest in the Irish church and suggest that some account had reached Rome by that date.

81 *Sancti Anselmi Opera*, v, 374, 382–3; *Letters of St Anselm*, iii, nos. 427, 435.

82 *Giraldi Opera*, v, 164–5; Gerald of Wales, *History and Topography*, 106.

83 D. A. Binchy, 'Bretha Crólige', *Ériu*, 12 (1934), 1–77 at 44–5.

84 *AU* 1171, *ALC*, *AFM*. Only *AU* provides details of Magnus's sexual partners. Cf. the untitled poem of probable twelfth-century date, the subject-matter of which is the doom-laden signs that

unions within prohibited degrees of kinship by marriage as well as by spiritual kinship.

The prohibition on marriage within forbidden degrees of kinship appears to have been among the first areas tackled by reform legislation. The synod of Cashel (1101), the canons of which have to be reconstructed from eighteenth-century vernacular transcripts,[85] decreed 'that no man in Ireland shall have to wife his father's wife, or his grandfather's wife, or her sister, or her daughter, or his brother's wife, nor any other woman so near related'.[86] This canon has been interpreted in radically different ways. Setting aside D. A. Binchy's view that the canon forbade brother–sister and daughter–father marriage, which ignores the extent to which churchmen ubiquitously used the term incest for marriage within forbidden degrees, Aubrey Gwynn nonetheless considered it to be 'astonishingly incomplete' in the narrowness of its range of restricted relationships, which matched only those of the Levitical prohibitions;[87] and that interpretation has been accepted also by Anthony Candon.[88] By contrast, Donnchadh Ó Corráin construed it to mean that the church's prohibited degrees of consanguinity were to be extended to prohibited degrees by affinity: not only might none of the female relations specifically named be married, but neither could their non-consanguineous direct descendants or ascendants, by analogy with the prohibitions on consanguineous marriage, namely to the sixth or seventh degree.[89] In other words, the canon deals with prohibitions that arise because of affinity: a man may not marry his stepmother, nor his step-grandmother, nor the sister, nor daughter of either of those women; nor may a man marry his brother's (or half-brother's) wife, nor any woman as closely related to him by affinity as all of the foregoing, which would have considerably widened the numbers of individuals within prohibited degrees by affinity.

It is likely that the canon of the synod of Cashel also dealt with prohibitions on grounds of consanguinity. In detailing the duties of the lay *ordo* in society, Bishop Gillebertus of Limerick stated that it was forbidden to those who married to take a spouse who was related by blood 'in the sixth or even the seventh degree', nor could a man marry his godmother,[90] since 'those who have been joined once in the church, the church says that is unlawful to join again' – which is also a prohibition of divorce.[91] Among the duties of the parish priest he listed

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precede the coming of Antichrist: 'The brother with his sister, the son with his father's wife after him; one alas, of its deeds strange to me, O God – a daughter in her mother's bed': E. Knott, 'A poem of prophecies', *Ériu*, 18 (1958), 55–84 at 64–5.

85 Above, pp. 2, 47, n. 57.

86 D. Ó Corráin, 'The synod of Cashel, 1101: conservative or innovative?' in D. Edwards (ed.), *Regions and Rulers in Ireland, 1100–1650* (Dublin, 2004), 17.

87 Gwynn, *Irish Church*, 167–70.

88 Candon, 'Power, politics', 126–7.

89 Ó Corráin, 'The synod of Cashel', 14, 17–18.

90 On spiritual kinship as *cairdes Críst*, see below, p. 209.

91 Fleming, *Gille*, 152–3.

the blessing of bridegroom and bride (*sponsus et sponsa*).[92] Broadly contemporary with Gillebertus's treatise is the Life of Colmán son of Luachán written around 1122,[93] in which the parents of Colmán's mother, Lassar, are depicted as having been betrothed by Bishop Étchén at the cross to the west of Tech Lommáin.[94] Doubtless the hagiographer wished to create an association between the cross at Tech Lommáin and the church of Lann, but the way in which he chose to do so is nevertheless interesting. The location of the betrothal under the auspices of Bishop Étchén suggests clerical action in seeking to gain oversight of marriage and is likely to reflect the hagiographer's concerns that Colmán should be seen to have been born within an ecclesiastically sanctioned union. Gillebertus made no mention of concubinage, perhaps because this was a practice not routinely encountered among ordinary parishioners at the lower levels of society but related more specifically to high-status individuals; but in any case his primary purpose was to delineate the functions of the priest. Similarly, the generality of the virtuous laity in the Vision of Tnugdal are merely described as faithful spouses, 'men and women who did not defile the conjugal bed with the unlawful stain of adultery and observed the promise of lawful marriage. … for the sacrament of lawful marriage is an important one'.[95] Although no explication of what constituted a legitimate union is offered, the reformist agenda is patent. It was a king, Cormac Mac Carthaig, who was named as having 'sullied the sacrament of lawful marriage'.[96]

Irish clergy may have faced especial recalcitrance in expounding the prohibitions on relationships by affinity. Pope Alexander III, writing to King Henry II in 1172, stated that he had been informed in writing by the papal legate, Bishop Gilla Críst (Christianus) Ua Connairche, and in person by Henry's envoy, Ralph, archdeacon of Llandaff, that the Irish married their stepmothers and were not ashamed to have children by them; that a man would live with his brother's wife while his brother was still alive, that a man might live in concubinage with two

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92 Ibid., 156–7. For a nuptial blessing in the Corpus missal, see Warren, *The Manuscript Irish Missal*, 81–4.

93 For the date, see above, p. 15.

94 K. Meyer, *Betha Colmáin maic Lúacháin: Life of Colmán son of Lúachan, Edited from a Manuscript in the Library of Rennes with Translation, Introduction, Notes, and Indices*, Todd Lecture Series, 17 (Dublin, 1911), 6–7. The death of Bishop Étchén of Cluain Fota Báetáin (Clonfad, tld in par. Killucan, bar. Fartullagh, co. Westmeath) is variously recorded in 578 and 584: *AU* 578.1, 584.5; cf. T. M. Charles-Edwards (ed.), *The Chronicle of Ireland*, 2 vols, Translated Texts for Historians, 44 (Liverpool, 2006), i, 111, ii, 132.

95 *Visio Tnugdali*, *47–*8; *Vision of Tnugdal*, 146–7.

96 Above, p. 171. Tnugdal also encountered in the superior hell two heroes of Irish epic tales, Fergus mac Róich and Conall Cernach: *Visio Tnugdali*, *16; *Vision of Tnugdal*, 121. Both were guilty of sexual improprieties: Fergus, former king of Ulster, in exile at the Connacht court, was Queen Medb's lover, and was slain at the instigation of Medb's jealous husband, Ailill; Conall Cernach slew Ailill whom he found consorting with a woman behind a bush on May morning: ibid., 46, 61. These details would have been pertinent primarily to an Irish audience. Significantly, they were gradually omitted in subsequent Continental vernacular translations.

sisters, 'and that many of them, putting away the mother, will marry the daughters'.[97] Again, such details relating to prohibited degrees by affinity are likely to derive more from Gilla Críst Ua Connairche than from Archdeacon Ralph's personal knowledge.

The council of Cashel (1171/2), presided over by Gilla Críst Ua Connairche as papal legate, reiterated that all the faithful should repudiate cohabitation between those related by kinship through blood or by marriage. Additionally, the implications of canonical marriage for inheritance were spelled out. All the faithful should make a will in the presence of their confessor and neighbours. A man was to divide his movable property into three parts: having first paid outstanding debts and the wages of servants, he should leave one-third to his children and one-third to his lawful wife, with the remaining third to be used to cover the expenses of his own burial. If he had no legitimate offspring – children conceived within a canonical marriage – then half of his property was to go to his wife; if his lawful wife was already dead, half was to go to his legitimate children. In other words, legitimacy was emphasised as a precondition of inheritance. It might be argued that this decree resulted from an Anglo-Norman concern to ensure the legally sanctioned succession of Strongbow as heir of Diarmait Mac Murchada, king of Leinster, through his marriage in 1170 to Diarmait's daughter, Aífe. She became his sole surviving heir of a canonical marriage in the wake of the execution of Aífe's uterine brother, Conchobar, while held as a hostage by Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair, king of Connacht. Gerald of Wales's remark about the Irish church coming into line with the *ecclesia Anglicana*, which should not be read as a decree of the council, but rather as Gerald's addition, might even have been included by him specifically to legitimate that succession.[98] It is possible that Diarmait Mac Murchada, before any involvement with Strongbow, had determined the regnal succession in Leinster in favour of Conchobar in consequence of his union with Mór, daughter of Gilla Comgaill Ua Tuathail, king of Uí Muiredaig, being recognised as canonical by churchmen.[99]

Elite marriage practices had not been markedly different in Ireland from those elsewhere in Europe in the early medieval period. The Irish church, like the Continental church, had sought to inculcate a Christian view of monogamous marriage for life. It was after all Columbanus who had inveighed against the sexual improprieties of King Theuderic II of Burgundy, refusing to bless his sons because they were the bastard offspring of a concubine and had not been born within a Christian marriage.[100] The early Christian church had also come out

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97 Sheehy, *Pontificia*, i, no. 6.

98 *Expugnatio*, 100–101. Cf. above, p. 3, n. 11.

99 M. T. Flanagan, *Irish Society, Anglo-Norman Settlers, Angevin Kingship: Interactions in Ireland in the Late Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1989), 96–7, 101–23 (with details of Diarmait's other procreative unions); below, p. 195.

100 I. Biffi and A. Granata (eds), *Giona di Bobbio*: *Vita di Colombano e dei suoi Discepoli* (Milan, 2001), 82–9.

firmly against close-kin marriage, although it was not wholly clear how far the prohibition extended, a matter that was to be defined more sharply in the course of the eleventh century. The council held in the Lateran by Pope Nicholas II in 1059 forbade marriage within the seventh degree.[101] Under Roman civil law, marriages were forbidden within 'four degrees' and grades were calculated by counting from a prospective spouse up to the common ancestor and back again to the other prospective partner. Hence, a father and daughter were considered to be related within the first degree, a brother and sister within the second, first cousins within the fourth degree. In other words, a person could not marry any of the children, or grandchildren of their grandparents. The church had originally followed the Roman method of computation, but from the first half of the ninth century the number of forbidden degrees was increased from four to seven, while the method of calculating degrees was changed. Instead of counting from one spouse to the common ancestor and down again, degrees began to be counted back only to the common ancestor. Counting solely by generations, first cousins thus were related in the second degree of consanguinity. This method of calculation is generally referred to as Germanic practice and exactly why the church moved to adopt it remains obscure. Its effect, however, was to extend greatly the range of prohibited degrees, making it unacceptable to marry if the couple had a common great-great-great-great-grandparent (six degrees), or, by a slightly different system of reckoning, even a great-great-great-great-great-grandparent (seven degrees). It has been argued that the crucial turning point for the church in relation to computation was the discussion by Peter Damian in the 1060s which was adopted by Pope Alexander II, who opted for calculation by generations.[102] As a result, a vast range was included within the prohibited degrees that extended far beyond known family links: a sixth cousin now counted as belonging to the seventh degree. Furthermore, the prohibitions within the sixth or seventh degree were also applied to relations by marriage. Other scholars, however, have suggested that the 'maximising' method of counting degrees had been current before Peter Damian, whose intervention was merely responsible for 'a drastic tightening up of what had been a slack attitude on the part of the official church in the preceding period'.[103]

As in the case of close-kin marriage, the church's policy on divorce had not been fixed during the early Middle Ages and only gradually cohered into strict monogamy. In the earlier period divorce on the grounds of adultery had been permitted. The evangelist Matthew had interpolated into the biblical passage prohibiting remarriage the qualification 'unless it be for fornication' (19:9), and, in the parallel saying in the Sermon on the Mount, Matthew's version has 'Who-

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101 MGH, *Leges IV, Constitutiones*, i (Hanover, 1893), 548, canon 11.

102 C. N. L. Brooke, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage* (Oxford, 1981), 135.

103 D. L. d'Avray, 'Peter Damian, consanguinity and church property' in L. Smith and B. Ward (eds), *Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Margaret Gibson* (London, 1992), 71–80 at 72, n. 5.

ever shall put away his wife, except for the cause of fornication, causes her to commit adultery' (5:32). Adultery as a ground for divorce was widely accepted in the early Middle Ages, alongside a more rigorist view that gradually gained sway with lawyers and theologians and was reinforced from the eleventh century onwards as the sacramental doctrine of marriage developed, which made the rule of indissolubility firmer. By the twelfth century marriage was undergoing further theological refinement as one of the sacraments of the church, while at the same time marriage law and testamentary disposition – which were related insofar as only those who were the offspring of a canonical marriage were deemed by the church to be legitimate heirs – were increasingly coming within the jurisdiction of the church courts, especially after the appearance of Gratian's *Decretum ca* 1140, which more readily facilitated and enabled ecclesiastical judges to apply a growing body of canon law dealing with all aspects of marriage. In relation to Continental aristocracies, it has been argued that their gradual acceptance of the church's prohibitions on close-kin marriage, divorce and concubinage was not solely, or necessarily, owing to the preaching success of reformist ecclesiastics but was driven also by the needs of a restructuring aristocracy wishing to clarify succession to royal office and landed estates, and thereby to curtail the instability attendant on disputed or doubtful succession. The same pressures, or perceived advantages, in relation to legitimate heirs had not yet been experienced by the landed elite in twelfth-century Ireland, even though a trend towards sons succeeding their fathers (filiogeniture) as kings can be discerned, as, for example, among the Ua Conchobair kings of Connacht.[104]

Through a comparison of Irish law with early medieval Continental and Anglo-Saxon evidence, Bart Jaski has argued that certainly up to the eighth century there existed common patterns in marital practices in Ireland and the rest of Christian Europe.[105] There were similarities in relation to the legal position of women, bride price and dowry, divorce and the ubiquity of concubinage. In the course of the ninth and tenth centuries, however, the church's position on the Continent strengthened from voicing opinions to securing inclusion of aspects of church law in secular legislation in co-operation with rulers. Thus, in 802 Emperor Charlemagne included in his capitulary a law forbidding incest and adultery and enjoining on the laity the duty of adhering to the preaching of bishops and clergy on marriage.[106] Although Charlemagne himself had five successive marriages (while previous wives were still living) and six concubines that historians know of, by the time that his great-grandson, Lothar II (855–69),

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104 Cf. table in *NHI*, ix, 138.

105 B. Jaski, 'Marriage laws in Ireland and on the continent in the early Middle Ages' in C. Meek and K. Simms (eds), *The Fragility of her Sex? Medieval Irishwomen in their European Context* (Dublin, 1996), 14–42; J. Smith, *Europe after Rome: A New Cultural History, 500–1000* (Oxford, 2005), 125–35.

106 H. R. Loyn and J. Percival, *The Reign of Charlemagne*, Documents of Medieval History, 2 (London, 1975), 78, §§ 33, 35, 38.

attempted to divorce his wife in order to marry his concubine, he encountered serious ecclesiastical opposition, a measure of the extension of the church's influence in the area of marriage. Jaski concluded that vikings disrupted Ireland's cultural contacts with Continental Europe at a critical juncture when the church's more stringent marriage prohibitions might otherwise have gained a stronger foothold, although he also posited that, in any case, Irish society may by that stage already have reached the limits of its capacity to adapt to the marriage laws of the church.

This is indeed suggested by a distinguishing feature of the Irish Canon Collection of 716×25 by comparison with Continental canon collections, namely the near total absence of legislation on the prohibited degrees of kindred within marriage.[107] There is only one chapter in the Irish Canon Collection on the subject, a prohibition of marriage with sisters-in-law citing as authorities the council of Arles (511) and the so-called Second Synod of Patrick, and drawing from the latter the chapter 'Of the bed of a dead brother' as follows: 'Hear the decree of the synod: "A surviving brother shall not enter the bed of a dead brother". For the Lord says: They shall be two in one flesh; therefore the wife of your brother is your sister'.[108] The Second Synod of Patrick actually contained more stringent prohibitions concerning marriage which were not incorporated into the Irish Canon Collection. A chapter titled 'Of consanguinity in marriage' expounds: 'Understand what the Law says, neither less nor more: but what is observed among us, that they be separated by four degrees, they say they have never seen, nor read.'[109] At the time of compilation of the Second Synod, possibly in the seventh century, interpretation of the prescriptions on consanguineous marriage was clearly a matter of dispute. That there is such scant treatment of marriage within prohibited degrees in a compilation as comprehensive as the Irish Canon Collection may indicate that, by the early eighth century, Irish higher clergy had accepted as unrealistic the attempt to enforce canonical prescriptions in relation to close-kin marriage.

In a society like Ireland's, where dynastic marriage strategies were vital for political purposes, extensive marriage prohibitions were especially burdensome. However, not only the Irish aristocracy but all the aristocracies of Europe experienced difficulties in relation to close-kin marriage as defined from the eleventh century onwards, since the extension of the forbidden categories was 'out of the world of possible enforcement, or of reasonable sense'.[110] This was eventually recognised as self-evidently so by the pruning back of the prohibited degrees to the fourth degree by Pope Innocent III at the fourth Lateran council in 1215,

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107 See A. Tatsuki, 'The early Irish church and marriage: an analysis of the *Hibernensis*', *Peritia*, 15 (2001), 195–207.

108 *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*, XLVI, 35, in H. Wasserschleben (ed.), *Die Irische Kanonensammlung*, revised edn (Leipzig, 1885), 194.

109 L. Bieler (ed.), *The Irish Penitentials*, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, 5 (Dublin, 1975), 196–7.

110 Brooke, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage*, 135.

coupled with the introduction of a regular system of papal dispensations that might allow those related within prohibited degrees to marry in certain circumstances.[111] It was only by slow stages that the church assumed competence in marriage cases, and historians have found it impossible to agree whether that occurred in the ninth, tenth or eleventh centuries. Critical here is the late date at which Irish churchmen moved to try and impose control over marriage. Elsewhere by the twelfth century lay aristocracies in Continental Europe were allowing the church to assume jurisdiction over marriage because crucially they, and their rulers, had come to see a significant advantage in monogamy with its attendant clarity in relation to legitimate heirs. As they became increasingly concerned with peaceful and effective hereditary succession to royal office and landed estates, clearly definable heirs, that is, legitimate offspring conceived in canonically sanctioned matrimony, were vital. This is not to say that the canonical norms of marriage were not breached regularly: they were, but they nonetheless had gradually come to be accepted as social norms.

Irish clergy not only started later, but also had more limited success in persuading the aristocracy to accept the church's law on marriage. Although Bernard of Clairvaux mentioned that the Irish did not contract legitimate marriage before Malachy's time and that Malachy was concerned to institute the 'contract of marriage (*contractum coniugorum*)' so as to dignify concubinage with marriage, it may be significant that Bernard did not otherwise accord much coverage to that aspect of Malachy's reformist activity, nor voice more detailed criticisms in relation to incest or divorce, possibly because that had not been emphasised in the material supplied by Bernard's Irish informants as an area in which Malachy had achieved notable success.[112] The clergy's limited gains in altering Irish marriage practices is tellingly borne out by the *Banshenchas*, 'Lore of Women', a remarkable catalogue of twelfth-century aristocratic marriages compiled in 1147, the authorship of which is attributed to Gilla Mo Dutu Ua Caiside, writing on the island of Devenish (co. Fermanagh).[113] If he was a cleric of the church of Devenish, it was hardly an appropriate subject on which to expend his scholarly expertise.[114] His focus on aristocratic marriage is explicit: 'I omit the strict enumeration of prostitutes and base offspring and evil women and

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111 4 Lateran 50, 51, 52 in Tanner, *Decrees*, 257–9.

112 *Vita Malachiae*, 316, 325, 326; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 22, 33, 35.

113 See M. E. Dobbs, 'The Ban-shenchus', *Revue Celtique*, 47 (1930), 282–339; 48 (1931), 163–234; 49 (1932), 437–89; M. Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The *Banshenchas* revisited' in M. O'Dowd and S. Wichert (eds), *Chattel, Servant or Citizen? Women's Status in Church, State and Society*, Historical Studies, XIX (Belfast, 1995), 70–81.

114 For Gilla Mo Dutu's hagiographical Life of Máedóc, see C. Doherty, 'The transmission of the cult of St Máedhóg' in P. Ní Chatháin and M. Richter (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Texts and Transmission/Irland und Europa im Früheren Mittelalter: Texte und Überlieferung* (Dublin, 2002), 275–81. His clerical status is cautiously endorsed by K. Murray, 'Gilla Mo Dutu Úa Caiside' in J. Carey, M. Herbert, and K. Murray.(eds), *Cín Chille Cúile: Texts, Saints and Places. Essays in Honour of Pádraig Ó Riain* (Aberystwyth, 2004), 150–62.

people of low birth.'[115] The very compilation of the *Banshenchas* may suggest that the volatility of aristocratic marriages and the resulting complexities of familial relationships had actually increased during the twelfth century as a consequence of intensified warfare, which called forth an even greater demand for the use of marriage as a strategy for sustaining political alliances. Essentially, the *Banshenchas* is concerned with about fifty aristocratic families, many of whom intermarried repeatedly over and between generations. Irish kings did respect ecclesiastical teaching on monogamy to the extent that they seem to have had only one legally acknowledged wife at a time, though this was severely compromised from the twelfth-century clerical perspective by the parity of inheritance accorded to sons of serial wives and concubines. The growing gulf between Irish marriage practices and the rest of European society by the late twelfth century led to an image of idiosyncrasy, if not barbarism. Indeed, John Gillingham has gone so far as to describe the Irish from the perspective of contemporary external commentators as 'barbarians in bed'.[116]

In light of churchmen's demonstrable interest in promoting a specifically Christian concept of kingship 'by the grace of God', as is apparent in the initial protocols of charters drafted by clerics for kings, it is relevant to ask what the position may have been in relation to royal wives and, in particular, queens. Among the duties of a bishop, according to Bishop Gillebertus of Limerick, was the blessing of a queen.[117] This raises the issue of which woman among a king's sexual partners was acknowledged as his queen, and implicitly thereby blessed and perhaps also anointed with oil by clergy? And was she also thereby considered to have been his canonical spouse? Only one woman among several known partners in the reign of an individual king appears, on the basis of annalistic evidence, to have been accorded the title of queen. It may be assumed in the case of Laidcnén son of Mailán Ua Leócháin, king of Gailenga, who went on pilgrimage to Rome in 1051 'with his queen (*cum sua regina*)', that she was his canonical wife.[118] At the legatine council of Kells in 1152 Cardinal John Paparo enacted that 'kinswomen and concubines should be put away by men',[119] and,

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115 Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The *Banshenchas*', 71.

116 J. Gillingham, 'The beginnings of English imperialism', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 5 (1992), 392–409, reprinted in his *The English in the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge, 2000), 3–18 at 11, 15–17.

117 Above, p. 75, n. 211.

118 *AU*² 1051.4, *ALC*, *AFM*; cf. *AT*. She is described as the daughter of An Got ('the stammerer'). There were a number of Clann Cholmáin dynasts to whom this sobriquet was applied, including Domnall Got Ua Máel Sechlainn, king of Mide, who was killed in 1030: *AT*, *AU*, 1030.5, *AI* 1030.6. She may have been 'Mór granddaughter of Conchobar, the queen' who is named alongside Laidcnén (styled king of Luigne) in the twelfth-century *notitia* in the Book of Kells: Mac Niocaill, 'The "Irish charters" ', 157–8.

119 *AFM*. The amended translation is that of Gwynn, *Irish Church*, 220. Decrees on marriage are not mentioned in *AT*, *AClon*, 199, *FFE*, iii, 314–17. John of Hexham reported that Paparo 'corrected many faults in a people who had not been accustomed to the law of marriage': T. Arnold (ed.), *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, 2 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1882–5), ii, 326–7.

during his three- or four-month stay in Ireland, he may have persuaded Diarmait Mac Murchada to regularise his marital situation in accordance with canon law. Diarmait's marriage to Mór, daughter of Muirchertach Ua Tuathail, king of Uí Muiredaig, and half-sister of Lorcán Ua Tuathail, abbot of Glendalough and archbishop of Dublin from 1162, may have been blessed by churchmen and acknowledged as canonical. At any rate, it is reasonable to assume that Lorcán, as Mór's half-brother, would have tried to persuade Diarmait to marry his sister in accordance with canon law.[120] Gerald of Wales described the offspring of that union, Conchobar and Aífe, as legitimate (*primogenitus*).[121] This may have been an interpretation of lawful marriage that Diarmait was prepared to accept by 1170 to the advantage of his Anglo-Norman son-in-law, Strongbow, after Diarmait's son, Conchobar, who appeared to have been his preferred successor, had been executed by Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair, and may thus have been motivated as much by political calculation as concurrence with canon law. Among canonists there was debate about which, in a sequence of marriages, should be accorded canonical status. By the time of Raymond of Peñafort's canon law compilation for Pope Gregory IX in 1234, the question had been settled in favour of the first marriage.[122] In the case of Diarmait Mac Murchada, however, it would appear to have been his last marriage. In 1177 the papal legate, Cardinal Vivian, halted for a brief period on the Isle of Man while on his way to Ireland, where, 'fulfilling his duty as legate', he caused the marriage of Godred, king of Man, to Finnuala, daughter of Niall Mac Lochlainn, king of Cenél nEógain (1170–76), to be legitimated.[123] There is no evidence of an Irish ruler being excommunicated as was Owain, king of Gwynedd, by Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, for ignoring Becket's injunction to separate from his first cousin, Christina.[124] Yet Owain still enjoyed sufficient sympathy and support from local clergy who were prepared to allow his burial in Bangor Cathedral notwithstanding his excommunication. Perhaps they, like Irish churchmen, had more realistic expectations of the degree of pressure they could exert in this critical area of lay behaviour, at least in relation to kings.

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120 Above, p. 189.

121 *Expugnatio*, 28–9; cf. 32–3, where Domnall Cáemánach is described as *naturalis*. However, another son, Énna, by a different woman was also described as *primogenitus*: ibid., 34–5.

122 Brooke, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage*, 52.

123 The phrase used is *legitime desponsari*: G. Broderick (ed.), *Cronica Regum Mannie et Insularum: Chronicles of the Kings of Man and the Isles, BL Cotton Julius Avii* [Douglas, 1979], fos 39v–40r. The wedding ceremony was performed by Silvanus, abbot of Rievaulx. Their son, Olaf, is described as being three years old at the time. Under the entry for Godred's death in 1187 it is recorded that, while still alive, Godred had constituted Olaf, notwithstanding his young age, as heir of his kingdom, 'for he had been born in lawful marriage', in preference to his older son, Ragnall. The latter nonetheless succeeded in 1187 because he was of mature age, whereas Olaf was still only ten years old: ibid. fos 40r–v. Godred had clearly been prepared to accept the link between canonical marriage and lawful succession and inheritance.

124 H. Pryce, *Native Law and the Church in Medieval Wales* (Oxford, 1993), 82–3.

Ecclesiastical patronage, gift-giving and alms

An area where reformers indubitably achieved more positive influence on the behaviour certainly of Irish kings, if not the general laity, was in relation to patronage of churches and monasteries. In his Otherworld vision, Tnugdal encountered among the not yet sufficiently good – those who were still awaiting entrance into heaven – 'the protectors and builders of churches', men and women, as the angel explained to Tnugdal, 'who have striven to build or defend churches, and for the favours which they bestowed on holy churches, they have been welcomed into their religious confraternities'.[125] The message was that ecclesiastical patronage ensured the reciprocal prayers of the beneficiaries and was an efficacious means of earning eternal salvation. It was one that Irish kings were willing to act upon by endowing an extensive series of monastic foundations. Conchobar Ua Briain, king of Thomond (*ob.* 1142), whom Tnugdal encountered in his Otherworld vision waiting to enter heaven, was accorded the benefits of confraternity as a *frater noster* of the *Schottenkloster* of Regensburg and prayed for by the monks, on the evidence of its necrology.[126] Twelfth-century kings were prepared to embrace the clerical perception of their role as God's instruments or agents, as is evidenced by the charters issued in their name. Diarmait Mac Murchada, king of Leinster (*ob.* 1171), was described in his charters as king 'by the nod of God' (*nutu Dei*), Domnall Ua Briain, king of Thomond (*ob.* 1194), as king 'by the grace of God' (*Dei gratia*).[127] The very use of those titles implied a responsibility to sustain the church as well as the kingdom. Royal charters recording ecclesiastical patronage afford an additional perspective on twelfth-century kingships: to set alongside the interminable warring activities recorded in the annals, an alternative image is presented of pious rulers issuing Latin charters in the same idiom as their contemporary Continental counterparts. Charters can be read as political and legal documents, but they were also pious texts recording a religious motivation. Of course, there were a variety of incentives for ecclesiastical patronage on the part of kings. There was all too frequently some worldly advantage to be gained from the surrender or confirmation of lands, as, for example, in the case of Muirchertach Ua Briain's 'donation' of the royal site of Cashel, a site closely associated with his political rivals the Eóganacht dynasty, to the church at the Synod of Cashel in 1101. Once granted to the church, recovery was well-nigh impossible, but the Eóganacht dynast, Cormac Mac Carthaig, effectively restored the association of his dynasty with the Rock of Cashel by building the church that still bears the

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125 *Visio Tnugdali*, *52–*3, *Vision of Tnugdal*, 151.
126 D. Ó Riain-Raedel, 'Das Nekrolog der irischen Schottenklöster: Edition der Handschrift Vat. Lat. 10100 mit einer Untersuchung der hagiographischen und liturgischen Handschriften der Schottenklöster', *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bistums Regensburg*, 26 (1992), 20 March, 62.
127 M. T. Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters: Texts and Contexts* (Oxford, 2005), 254–5, 264–5, 284–6, 308–9, 320–21.

name of 'Cormac's chapel'. The use of ecclesiastical patronage to initiate or consolidate political control in contested territories was a long-established practice and not unique to twelfth-century Ireland.[128] The endowment of new monastic foundations by aggrandising Irish kings, especially on lands of recent acquisition, or in peripheral locations on the limits of their sphere of influence, as in the case of the donation of lands for the foundation of Mellifont in 1142 by Donnchad Ua Cerbaill, king of Airgialla, can be viewed cynically as a means of advancing their own narrowly defined political agendas.[129] Ecclesiastical benefactions were undoubtedly open to self-interested manipulation, but it would be wrong to read the motivation expressed in donors' charters of making provision for the salvation of their souls and those of their relatives as a meaningless jingle formula. There was a genuine desire for spiritual benefits that can too easily be underestimated. The generalised petitions 'in remission of my sins',[130] 'for the welfare of my soul and the souls of my ancestors',[131] were implicit shorthand that had developed from longer preambles within the European charter tradition which had expressed the redemptive effects of giving away earthly goods in order to gain heavenly rewards – that is, of pious gift-giving *per se* – quite apart from any counter-obligation on the part of the beneficiaries to offer intercessory prayers for the donors. The very act of giving had redemptive effects that could gain a spiritual reward for the donor. The Latin charters issued by Irish kings, considered alongside increasingly numerous annalistic entries recording royal deaths in monasteries in the wake of 'victories of repentance', suggest a new concern on the part of donors to acknowledge their individual responsibility to make personal arrangements for the salvation of their souls and those of their predecessors and successors.

Lands were granted to the church 'in pure, perpetual, and free alms',[132] and while this can be interpreted in a narrowly legal sense to connote a particular form of land tenure that was to be free from secular exactions, the significance of the term 'alms' should not be overlooked. There was a specific link drawn between eternal salvation and the giving of alms to the poor. Tnugdal, who is described as of noble lineage, is seen in the Vision of Tnugdal to have neglected the eternal salvation of his soul by scorning the 'poor of Christ (*pauperes Christi*)' and giving donations instead to jesters, players and jugglers.[133] The

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128 Further discussion in Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters*, 240–44. For the weakening of Cenél Fíachach by generous endowments of their lands to the church made by their Uí Néill overlords in the pre-viking period, see T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Oxford, 2000), 555. The opposite tactic of weaker groups voluntarily ceding land to a church rather than have it fall into the hands of political rivals is highlighted by C. Doherty, 'Some aspects of hagiography as a source for Irish economic history', *Peritia*, 1 (1982), 300–328 at 309–10.

129 Above, p. 151.

130 Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters*, 254–5, 265–6, 344–5.

131 Ibid., 270–71, 284–5, 29–3, 308–9, 320–21, 334–5.

132 Ibid., 284–6, 291–2, 315–16, 320–21, 344–5.

133 *Visio Tnugdali*, *5; *Vision of Tnugdal*, 111–12. For *pauperes Christi* as monks, see above, p. 171, n. 11.

implication was that alms-giving was an integral element of preparation for eternal salvation. The *Schottenklöster* communities invited individuals, in the personification of Tnugdal, but also the kings of Munster in the personae of Cormac Mac Carthaig, Donnchad Mac Carthaig and Conchobar Ua Briain to contemplate their fate after death, exhorting them to earn salvation and reduce their time in the intermediate hell by making generous benefactions to *pauperes Christi et peregrini*.[134] The motivation clauses in charters of lay donors demonstrate an acknowledgement on their part that they had responsibilities for their own salvation which could be met by the donation of alms and that it was no longer acceptable to be reliant solely on clergy to perform the function of prayers for the souls of the dead.

Concern for securing one's own well-being in the afterlife and arranging for prayers for the deceased is paralleled in what has been termed the 'birth of purgatory'.[135] In his description of the duties of the priest in a parish Bishop Gillebertus of Limerick referred to the necessity of praying for the dying and the dead because, although pardon was promised to those who repent, the 'purgatorial fire' might have to complete the cleansing of some souls.[136] While the nominative *purgatorium* is not actually used by Gillebertus, or in the Vision of Tnugdal, in the latter the places located above the lowermost hell, though classified by the author as infernal, show a purgatorial character because their inhabitants still have hope of salvation. The Vision of Tnugdal explicated contemporary eschatological ideas for its intended audience, Irish among others.

Growing concern by individuals for the making of a last will and testament that included donations to the church for the well-being of their soul affords another indication of increased attention to preparing for one's own salvation. In 1156 Toirdelbach Ua Conchobair, king of Connacht and high-king, died 'after having made his will (*tiomna*)', arranging bequests to the churches of Ireland, 'and he himself distributed them all and ordained the share of each church according to rank'.[137] When his grandfather, Áed in Gaí Bernaig Ua Conchobair, king of Connacht, was killed in battle in 1067, he was described in his death-notice as 'the man in Ireland who used to bestow the most clothing and wealth, gold and horses for the sake of his soul, and God's mercy was manifest to him for his goodness', although it is questionable whether being slain in battle did constitute such convincing evidence of God's favour.[138] Donnchad Ua Cerbaill, king of Airgialla, who died in 1168 as a result of a fatal wound inflicted with his own battle-axe, lived sufficiently long to benefit from the last rites and to bequeath 300 ounces of gold 'for the love of God upon clerics and churches'.[139]

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134 *Visio Tnugdali*, *43–*8; *Vision of Tnugdal*, 143–8.
135 See above, p. 12.
136 Fleming, *Gille*, 158–9.
137 *AT*, *AFM*.
138 *AT* 1167, *CS* 1064=1067.
139 The most fulsome entry in *MIA* 1167.5 (recte 1168) using the term *tiomna* (these annals

His benefactions were still remembered in the fifteenth century.[140] In the early-twelfth-century biography of Brian Bóruma which, it has already been suggested, exhibits reformist reflexes,[141] following Brian's death at the battle of Clontarf (1014) his surviving son and successor, Donnchad, is depicted paying in full the bequests of Brian and his son, Murchad; and Donnchad 'fulfilled Brian's will after him as he himself had directed'.[142] The council of Cashel (1171/2) decreed that the faithful in sickness should make a testament in the presence of their *confessor* and neighbours, while those who die, 'having made a good confession, should receive that degree of ceremony which is their due, both as regards Masses and vigils, and in the manner of their burial'.[143] Bernard of Clairvaux, in his Life of Malachy, had included a moral *exemplum* about the efficacy of praying for the dead: salvation was denied to Malachy's sister on her own merits but was procured through the prayers of Malachy.[144] Intercessory prayer for the named living and dead had acquired a new emphasis.

While it has already been suggested that it was to the liturgy of the Cistercians that Malachy was especially drawn, this was also an attraction for the lay patrons whom Malachy recruited to endow Cistercian houses. Intercessory prayers undertaken in Cistercian communities were valued by benefactors. Irish royal charters contain the stock pan-European formula that grants were made for the well-being of the soul of the benefactor and his family; that this was more than merely formulaic is evidenced in the earliest extant charter in favour of an Irish Cistercian community, that of Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn, king of Cenél nEógain, to Newry Abbey, which expressed the aspiration that the monks would pray for the welfare of his soul, and that the king would be able to participate in all the good works, Masses, Hours and prayers that would be offered in the monastery until the end of time.[145] It may be contrasted with earlier Irish vernacular charters and notices, in which grants to churches were made to God and the founding saint but without a clause specifying a spiritual benefit in return, though this is not to suggest that it may not have been implied, but rather that its explicit articulation reflected growing awareness of its importance. Bernard of Clairvaux wrote to Diarmait Mac Murchada, king of Leinster, admitting the king to confra-

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incorporate a lost Airgiallan source: T. Ó Fiaich, 'The contents of "Mac Carthaigh's book" ', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Series 5, 74 (1950), 30–39). See also *AFM*, *AT*, *AU*, the latter more hostile entry stating that he was drunk at the time of being injured and omitting any mention of donations to churches. The so-called Laud or Pembridge's Annals and the Annals of Multyfarnham described him as *fundator monasterii Mellifontis*: J. T. Gilbert (ed.), *Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin*, 2 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1884), ii, 303; A. Smith, 'Annales de Monte Fernandi' in *Tracts Relating to Ireland*, Irish Archaeological Society, 2 vols (Dublin, 1843), ii, 9.

140 Above, p. 149.
141 Above, pp. 23, 170.
142 Todd, *Cogadh*, 210–11.
143 *Expugnatio*, 100–101.
144 Below, p. 216.
145 Above, p. 131.

ternity of the Cistercian *ordo*, by way of reward for his generosity to *pauperes Christi*.[146] Malachy too received a letter of confraternity from Bernard.[147] Confraternities, or prayer communities, an *oentu* or *oentad*, a 'unity' or 'unities', existed in the pre-twelfth-century Irish church, but they appear to have included the names only of ecclesiastics,[148] and there is no evidence that lay individuals were remembered by name in a liturgical context. By contrast, in the *Schotten-kongregation* the names of Irish kings who made donations to those communities were entered into necrologies and were prayed for on the anniversaries of their deaths.[149]

The charters of Irish kings therefore provide valuable evidence that royal donors were persuaded of the spiritual benefits that they would derive via the liturgy from their generosity to Cistercian monasteries. In his *Speculum Duorum* Gerald of Wales included a hostile portrayal of the Cistercian abbot of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin, describing how during the vacancy in the see of Dublin that followed the death of Archbishop Lorcán Ua Tuathail in November 1180 and before the arrival of his successor, John Cumin, in Dublin in 1184, the abbot had seized the opportunity to preach in the city on Sundays and solemn feast days and advocated to ordinary ignorant people that the best way they could ensure entry into heaven was in the habit of a Cistercian monk, or by being buried in his monastery. So grasping was this particular abbot that, on hearing that a certain matron in the city lay gravely ill, he went to her house with three or four of his monks and promised her certain entry into heaven by tonsuring her as a monk – not, as Gerald emphatically elaborated, as a nun, but as a monk; and the abbot then carried away large amounts of money. Following Archbishop Cumin's arrival in his diocese, he was obliged to preach against the exclusive virtues of Cistercian monasticism by pointing out to the people of Dublin that Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, had secured the crown of martyrdom even though he was not a Cistercian and that their very own Archbishop Lorcán Ua Tuathail had died at Eu in Normandy in the habit of a regular canon.[150] While Gerald's dislike of Cistercians is well known, the story nonetheless suggests the extent to which the laity could be persuaded of the efficacy of Cistercian intercessory prayers for the dead.

Not only men but also women were convinced of the need to attend to the welfare of their souls, as evidenced by the substantial number of female convents that were endowed in twelfth-century Ireland.[151] Whereas elsewhere a demo-

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146 Above, p. 128, n. 56.
147 Above, p. 128, n. 57.
148 P. Ó Riain (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (Dublin, 1985), 219; discussion of an *óentad* between Glendalough and Clonmacnois in A. MacShamhráin, *Church and Polity in Pre-Norman Ireland: The Case of Glendalough* (Dublin, 1994), 140–43.
149 Above, p. 13.
150 *Giraldi Opera*, iv, 178–80.
151 D. Hall, *Women and the Church in Medieval Ireland c. 1140–1540* (Dublin, 2003), 64–80.

graphic imbalance has been suggested as a stimulus for female religious founda-
tions, in that they could play a valuable social role as refuges for unmarried or
widowed high-status women, the contemporary evidence of the *Banshenchas*
does not suggest that there was a surplus of aristocratic women for whom
provision had to be made in convents. High-status women were married two,
three and more times, and even women who had passed child-bearing age appear
to have been acceptable as second or third spouses for reasons of political expedi-
ency. Nor do female religious communities appear to have been used as retire-
ment homes for elderly women, since high-status women are frequently recorded
to have died in major ecclesiastical centres rather than in female convents. In
1151 Derbforgaill, daughter of Domnall Mac Lochlainn, king of Cenél nEógain
(*ob.* 1121), and wife of Toirdelbach Ua Conchobair, king of Connacht (*ob.*
1156), died 'on her pilgrimage' at Armagh.[152] More tellingly, Derbforgaill,
daughter of Murchad Ua Máel Sechlainn, king of Mide (*ob.* 1153), and wife of
Tigernán Ua Ruairc, king of Bréifne (*ob.* 1172), took up residence in the
Cistercian monastery of Mellifont in 1186 where she died and was buried in 1193
at the age of eighty-five years;[153] this despite the fact that Mellifont was a male
monastic community and that Derbforgaill had 'built' the nuns' church at
Clonmacnois in 1167, remnants of which can still be seen in the very fine
Romanesque chancel arch and west doorway,[154] not to mention that her kins-
woman, Agnes (*ob.* 1196), was the 'great abbess' of a convent of Arrouaisian
nuns at Clonard.[155] In 1157 Derbforgaill had been present at the consecration of
the church of Mellifont, on which occasion she had donated sixty ounces of gold,
a gold chalice for the altar of Mary and nine altar-cloths for the other altars.[156] It
was to Mellifont rather than Clonmacnois that she repaired to end her days,
although it is difficult to visualise in what part of the monastery she would have
been housed, other than perhaps the guesthouse, where she may have been main-
tained as a corrodian. Cistercian abbeys, in keeping with the Rule of Benedict,
were not supposed to allow burial of non-Cistercians in their churches. However,
some exceptions were made. In 1180 it was decreed that 'no one is to be buried in
our churches except kings, and queens, and bishops, and abbots in our chapter
houses, or also any of the aforesaid persons, if they would prefer'.[157] Derbforgaill

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152 *AFM*.
153 *AU* 1186, 1193, *ALC* 1186, 1193, *AFM* 1193.
154 *AFM* 1167. The church is located in a small enclosure to the east of the main complex. See J. Ní
       Ghrádaigh, ' "But what exactly did she give"? Derbforgaill and the Nuns' church at
       Clonmacnoise' in H. A. King (ed.), *Clonmacnoise Studies, Volume 2: Seminar Papers, 1998*
       (Dublin, 2003), 97–207.
155 *ALC* 1196; Sheehy, *Pontificia*, i, no. 29; An Caillech mór, 'head of the nuns of Ireland (*ceand
       caillech Érend*)' was the daughter of Muirchertach Ua Máel Sechlainn by his union with
       Dubcablach, sister of Diarmait Mac Murchada, king of Leinster (*ob.* 1171): Dobbs, 'The
       Ban-shenchus', 234. Muirchertach Ua Máel Sechlainn was probably the brother of Murchad (*ob.*
       1153) and, if so, Agnes's relationship to Derbforgaill would have been that of first cousin.
156 *AFM* 1157; cf. *AT*.
157 *In oratoriis nostris non sepeliantur nisi reges et regine et episcopi; in capitulis abbates, vel*

would have qualified as a noted patron of Mellifont, daughter of a king, who was married to another king.

At a time when benefactions were explicitly regarded as offering reciprocal spiritual benefits in the form of prayers for the donor's salvation, the intercessions of monks, who were increasingly also in priestly orders, were generally regarded as more efficacious than those of women religious. Nonetheless, Irish kings and benefactors were persuaded of the importance and value of pious giving to female houses in the twelfth century. Just as churchmen were interested in 'diverse but not adverse' interpretations of the religious life, so too lay benefactors were prepared to patronise a variety of religious houses. Donnchad Ua Cerbaill, king of Airgialla, who endowed the first Cistercian foundation at Mellifont, also patronised the Arrouaisian foundations of Louth, Knock and Termonfeckin. Diarmait Mac Murchada, king of Leinster, patronised Cistercian monks at Baltinglass and Cell Lainne, Augustinian canons at Ferns and Arrouaisian canons at All Hallows, Dublin, but he also endowed the nunnery of St Mary de Hogges in the city of Dublin, as well as its two dependencies at Aghade (co. Carlow) and Killculliheen (co. Kilkenny).[158] Most nunneries, however, as elsewhere in medieval Europe, remained under-endowed in comparison with male communities and, in consequence, institutional continuity was less secure. The lack of an adequate economic base was a frequent cause of their failure and continuing royal patronage was the best assurance of survival. Kildare, although an early-sixth-century female foundation, had entered the historical record in the early seventh century only after it had secured the patronage of the Uí Dunlainge kings of Leinster.[159] Ultimately, the success of a female religious community depended not only, or even primarily, on the charismatic leadership of its abbess, nor on a well-structured rule, but on its appeal to lay supporters. It is a measure of the success of clergy in persuading lay benefactors to endow religious houses, and of the piety and commitment of those donors, that endowments were so readily extended to include female religious communities in the twelfth century. Irish men and women proved receptive to the urgings of churchmen to make provision for the needs of their souls. Those who were not willing to enter religious communities themselves were prepared to support members of their families and others to undertake dedicated routines of prayer on their behalf. Benefactions to religious communities, male and female, afford one measure of personal lay piety for which it is otherwise generally very difficult to recover evidence.

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etiam predicti si maluerint: C. Waddell, *Twelfth-Century Statutes from the Cistercian General Chapter*, Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses, Studia et Documenta, 12 (Brecht, 2002), 88.

158 Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters*, 384–5.

159 E. Bhreathnach, 'Abbesses, minor dynasties and kings *in clericatu*: perspectives on Ireland, 700–850' in M. Brown and C. Farr (eds), *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe* (London, 2001), 113–23 at 115–19.

6

'RIGHT FAITH AND GOOD ACTIONS': LAY PIETY AND DEVOTION

What churchmen by the twelfth century generally expected from the laity by way of regular religious practice can be summarised as: observance of Sunday rest from labour and attendance at Mass; proper and timely recourse to the sacraments of baptism, the eucharist and penance; the celebration of the liturgical seasons, especially the various periods of fasting and abstinence; almsgiving, and the regular payment of tithes on all income; compliance with the canon law of marriage and specified periods of sexual abstinence. Religious observances on the part of the laity should not, of course, necessarily be taken to imply religious understanding. In practice, the difficulties attendant on instructing the laity must have been immense. Only a minority, such as kings and high-status families, received personal guidance from clerical advisers. In the ninth-century Rule of Patrick bishops are presented as having a particular responsibility for the spiritual direction of rulers.[1] A personal spiritual adviser was a natural adjunct of rank, as in the case of Diarmait Mac Murchada, king of Leinster (*ob.* 1171), who acknowledged Áed Ua Cáellaide, bishop of Louth, as his 'spiritual father and confessor'.[2] When Cormac Mac Carthaig was forced from the kingship of Munster in 1127 and retired to the monastery of Lismore, he placed himself under the spiritual tutelage of Malachy; and even after his restoration to royal power he continued to revere Malachy.[3] Kings were afforded the opportunity to take up residence at church sites during the season of Lent and Easter where they may be presumed to have subjected themselves to a temporary penitential regime, possibly even participating in a rite of public penance.[4] They might also move into a church settlement when death was imminent.

Among the laity, kings were in a special category with particular responsibilities. Only one *ad status* sermon (a model sermon addressing a specific social group) directed at the laity survives in the early-fifteenth-century *Leabhar Breac*

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1 J. G. O'Keeffe, 'The rule of Patrick', *Ériu*, 1 (1904), 216–24, 218, 221; cf. above, p. 81, n. 238.

2 Below, p. 211, n. 49.

3 *AI* 1127.2, 4; *Vita Malachiae*, 318–19, 328; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 25–6, 35–6; cf. below, p. 210, n. 40.

4 Above, p. 74. The presence of kings within an ecclesiastical settlement at solemn feasts made kings and their relatives vulnerable to attack on those occasions. In 1170 Conchobar son of Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn, king of Cenél nEógain, was killed on Easter Saturday in the middle of the *Trian mór* at Armagh: *AU, ALC, AT, AFM*.

homiletic collection and, significantly, it is a *Sermo ad Reges*, a sermon addressed to kings.[5] While it cannot in the present state of knowledge of this collection indubitably be dated to the twelfth century,[6] it undoubtedly falls within a well-attested Irish tradition of advice to rulers beginning with the *rex iniquus* ('unjust king') section of the anonymous seventh-century Hiberno-Latin *De Duodecim Abusivis Saeculi* ('On the Twelve Abuses of the Age'), which was to have such a marked impact on Carolingian literature.[7] Drawing on the Psalms, the Book of Kings, Proverbs and Ecclesiastics, the *Sermo ad Reges* emphasises the transitory nature of earthly power in the same manner as St Flannán had admonished his father, King Toirdelbach, to contemplate the fragility of human life by constantly reminding him: 'illustrious father, see how the bones of kings are fleshless and marrowless'.[8] According to the *Sermo ad Reges* fulfilment of God's commandments will overcome a king's enemies and faithlessness on the part of his subjects, and his sons and grandsons will succeed him. Just as the king has to obey God's law, so must the king's subjects be obedient to him, but he, in turn, is required to act justly and righteously towards them. He must punish ill-conduct, more specifically lust and adultery, robbery and theft, rapine and plunder, 'for the kingdom is often corrupted through allowing these sins in full liberty to all'.[9] The king can justifiably hang or kill wicked men if he cannot restrain them in any other lawful way, as, for example, by spoliation and depriving them of their wealth, by exile and imprisonment, or even by mutilation of their limbs. In his charter to Abbot Felix and the monks of Osraige of 1162×65 Diarmait Mac Murchada threatened any person who would dare to violate the property of the community by theft or fire with confiscation of property or, if he had none, loss of life.[10] The king must respect the church as the queen of the heavenly king, 'in the same way as it is the will of an earthly king that everyone should honour his queen'.[11] It is assumed that a king will be able to recite by heart the text of the Creed and the Lord's prayer. He should give alms of food and clothing to the poor and offer to God 'tithes of his wealth and treasure'. He should observe fast, abstinence and self-restraint, with a special emphasis on the

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5   R. Atkinson (ed.), *The Passions and the Homilies from Leabhar Breac: Text, Translation and Glossary*, Royal Irish Academy Todd Lecture Series, 2 (Dublin, 1887), 151–62, 401–25.

6   The *Leabhar Breac* collection awaits a full linguistic and contextual analysis; but see Mac Eoin, 'Observations on some Middle-Irish homilies', 210, where the *Sermo ad Reges* is listed among those homilies which do not exhibit any loanwords from English, French or later Latin borrowings that would be indicative of a post-twelfth-century date. Cf. K. H. Jackson (ed.), *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne*, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (Dublin, 1990), xx–xxi.

7   See H. H. Anton, 'Pseudo-Cyprian: *De duodecim abusivis saeculi* und sein Einfluß auf den Kontinent, insbesondere auf die karolingischen Fürstenspiegel' in H. Löwe (ed.), *Die Iren und Europa im Früheren Mittelalter*, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 1982), ii, 568–617.

8   *Pater inclite, ossa vides regum vacuis exuta medullis*: *Vita Flannani*, 287.

9   Atkinson, *Passions and Homilies*, 157, lines 4163–4, 407.

10 M. T. Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters: Texts and Contexts* (Oxford, 2005), 254–5.

11 Atkinson, *Passions and Homilies*, 157, lines 4165–7, 407.

avoidance of the cardinal sin of gluttony: 'he should not eat before his proper time, but should take his meal at the hour suitable for him, with gladness and thankfulness to God for his good gifts for "it is a cause of ruin to laity and clergy when their kings and rulers are enslaved to gluttony and excesses of the world" '.[12] Gluttony, on the evidence of the twelfth-century Vision of Mac Conglinne (an itinerant clerical scholar who cured Cathal mac Finguine, king of Munster, of a demon of gluttony), appears to have been a sin especially attributed to kings.[13] In similar vein, Bernard of Clairvaux recounted how Malachy harshly chastised a certain Count Diarmait 'because he was a bad fellow immoderately serving his belly and his gullet'.[14]

The Life of St Flannán depicts not only the ideal bishop,[15] but also the ideal king in its portrayal of the saint's father, Toirdelbach, as a 'most Christian king', who in virtue of his exemplary lifestyle is even described as 'an apostle and preacher'.[16] He built churches at his own expense, fed crowds of the poor and readily forgave his enemies who asked his pardon. He extended liberal hospitality to the many who came on pilgrimage from different parts of Ireland; and those pilgrims who settled in his kingdom were treated as co-heirs of Christ and endowed with munificent possessions. A Christian spirit and fraternal peace prevailed during his reign and an abundance of everything throughout Ireland. The king eventually retired from office to assume the monastic habit at Lismore, 'to be poor in this world so that he might be rich in Christ', a reflex of *paupertas Christi*. Such were the virtues to which kings were encouraged to aspire by clergy.

The antithesis of the Christian king is represented in the Life of St Mochuille, redacted by the same author as the Life of St Flannán, in the person of the wicked king Forannán, with his queen, 'a daughter of Babylon', who lived close by St Mochuille's church of Tulla (some twelve miles from Killaloe), and ill-treated the saint shamefully.[17] His wife disrupted Mochuille's religious services by

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12 Ibid., 157, lines 4172–3, 4188–90, 408.

13 See above, p. 164.

14 *Vita Malachiae*, 354; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 63. The identity of the glutton is unknown; it may possibly refer to Diarmait Mac Murchada, king of Leinster. The anecdote must have derived from materials supplied to Bernard, who certainly did not recognise the count as the king to whom he sent a letter of confraternity: above, p. 128, n. 56.

15 Above, pp. 95–6.

16 *Vita Flannani*, 281.

17 A. Poncelet, 'Vita S. Mochullei', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 17 (1898), 136–54 at 143–4; discussion in D. Ó Corráin, 'Foreign connections and domestic politics: Killaloe and the Uí Briain in twelfth-century hagiography' in D. Whitelock, R. McKitterick, and D. Dumville (eds), *Ireland in Early Medieval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes* (Cambridge, 1982), 213–31. To the phrases identified there as common to both lives may be added *divina clementia* and *divina favente clementia*, redolent of the diplomatic of German imperial charters: Poncelet, 'Vita S. Mochullei', 138, line 11, 139, line 28, 140, line 30, 154, line 18; *Vita Flannani*, 286; *pro remedio animarum*: 'Vita S. Mochullei', 138, 6, *Vita Flannani*, 287. For reflexes of German diplomatic in a charter issued by Diarmait Mac Carthaig, king of Desmond, 1167×75, see Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters*, 177–8, 181–3, 334–5.

whining like a dog and clanging basins. In the same Life an exemplar of a contrite king is depicted in the person of Guaire, who repents of his mistreatment of the saint and in reparation grants land to Mochuille. The implication of these texts is that royal office had an important religious as well as political dimension, that a king had a special relationship with Christ, the just ruler. A king also had special liturgical prayers recited for his welfare; the Holy Saturday litany in the Corpus missal included an invocation 'for the king of the Irish and his army',[18] most appropriately since kings are likely to have been present, while, according to the Vision of Mac Conglinne, when Mac Conglinne's 'sermon was ended, prayers were offered for the king, that he might have length of life, and there might be prosperity in Munster during his reign; prayers were also offered up for the territories (*crícha*), and lineages (*cenéla*), and for the provinces (*cóiced*) as well, as is usual after a sermon'.[19]

No other group of lay persons was as directly addressed by churchmen as kings. For the generality of the laity, Bishop Gillebertus of Limerick's treatise provides the best indicative twelfth-century evidence for the pastoral care that a priest was expected to provide for his parishioners.[20] The priest's obligations were sacramental and intercessory: to administer the sacraments validly and to offer prayers on behalf of his parishioners, living and dead. The church was most immediate to lay people at the critical events of life – birth and death. It was generally assumed by the twelfth century that unbaptised infants had little or no chance of heaven, and thus baptism soon after birth was favoured. According to Gillebertus, the baptism ceremony was to be performed by the priest in a church, 'unless necessity prevent it'.[21] Gillebertus listed the baptismal font as one of the

18 See the invocations in the Easter vigil for *gloriosissimo rege nostro N. eiusque nobilissima prole* and *ut regem hibernensium et exercitum eius conseruare digneris*: F. E. Warren (ed.), *The Manuscript Irish Missal Belonging to the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford* (London, 1879), 128, 133. Attempts by scholars to date and suggest a provenance for the Corpus missal on the basis of these prayers overlook the fact that intercession for the king is also present in the Easter liturgy in the Romano-Germanic pontifical: *PRG*, ii, 88. In any case, the Stowe missal had included an intercession *pro pissimis [sic] imperatoribus et omni romano exercitu* in the general intercessions, or prayers of the faithful, under the title *Deprecatio Sancti Martini pro populo* ('The intercession of St Martin for the people'), which, in turn, was a translated fossil from the Greek liturgy of John Chrysostom: G. F. Warner (ed.), *The Stowe Missal*, 2 vols, Henry Bradshaw Society, 31–2 (London, 1906–15), ii, 6; F. E. Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual in the Celtic Church*, 2nd edn, ed. J. Stevenson, Studies in Celtic History, 9 (Woodbridge, 1987), lxv–vi. 201, 229. See also the votive *Missa pro rege* that the king may overcome his enemies and serve *christiana libertas* in H. J. Lawlor, *The Rosslyn Missal: An Irish Manuscript in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 15 (London, 1899), 85–6; G. H. Forbes (ed.), *Missale Drummondiense: The Ancient Irish Missal in the Possession of the Baroness Willoughby de Eresby, Drummond Castle, Perthshire* (Edinburgh, 1882), 25; Warren, *The Manuscript Irish Missal*, 64.

19 K. Meyer (ed.), *Aislinge meic Conglinne: The Vision of MacConglinne, a Middle-Irish Wonder Tale* (London, 1892), 58–9; Jackson, *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne*, 23.

20 For parish clergy as the primary audience, see above, pp. 80–1.

21 J. Fleming, *Gille of Limerick (c. 1070–1145): Architect of a Medieval Church* (Dublin, 2001), 154–5. Cf. the triple immersion in the earliest extant Irish baptism rite in the Stowe missal: Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual*, 64–5.

objects that had to be consecrated by a bishop.[22] He assumed a baptismal ceremony by triple immersion, but, in line with the concise treatment throughout his text, did not elaborate on its symbolism. In the Irish glosses on the Pauline epistles in the manuscript dating from the mid eighth century now in Würzburg University Library, triple immersion is linked symbolically with the three-day burial of Christ: a gloss on the word 'baptism' reads 'three waves over us in baptism, a space of three days to Him [Christ] in the tomb (*teora tonna torunni* in babtismo, *tredenus dosom* in sepulcro)'.[23] This derived from the Pauline interpretation of baptism as not only rebirth but also resurrection: 'In our baptism, we have been buried with him, died like him, that so, just as Christ was raised up by his Father's power from the dead, we too might live and move in a new kind of existence' (Romans, 6:3–4).[24] Triple immersion is also alluded to in the (undated) Irish life of Ciarán of Clonmacnois, where the saint is described as 'pouring three waves of water over twelve lepers' by way of a description of baptism.[25]

In his account of the council of Cashel (1171/2) the English court chronicler Roger of Howden reported, in relation to a synodal decree that children should be baptised by a priest in a consecrated font in a baptismal church, that 'previously it had been the custom in various parts of Ireland that as soon as a child was born, the father of the child, or some other person, would immerse the child three times in water, or, if it was the child of a wealthy person, in milk, and afterwards they were accustomed to throw the said water or milk in their drains or other unclean places'.[26] Roger's allusion to the bathing of new-born infants in milk might be discounted as utterly fanciful were it not for the fact that immersion in milk at birth is described in a vernacular Life of Brigit, where it is used symbolically as a

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22 Fleming, *Gille*, 160–61.

23 W. Stokes and J. Strachan (eds), *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus: A Collection of Old Irish Glosses, Scholia, Prose and Verse*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1901–3), i, 672, no. 14; W. Stokes (ed.), *Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore*, Anecdota Oxoniensa (Oxford, 1890), 357.

24 Cf. the interpretation in the Collection in Seventy-Four Titles (*Diversorum Patrum Sententie sive Collectio in LXXIV Titulos Digesta*), compiled in the second half of the eleventh century, which explained three-fold immersion at baptism as signifying the sacrament of the three-day burial: 'and when after the third time he who is baptised is led from the water, the resurrection of the third day is expressed': J. Gilchrist (ed.), *The Collection in Seventy-Four Titles: A Canon Law Manual of the Gregorian Reform* (Toronto, 1980), 196. For the milieu in which this collection originated, see C. Rolker, 'The *Collection in Seventy-Four Titles*: a monastic canon law collection from eleventh-century France' in M. Brett and K. G. Cushing (eds), *Readers, Texts and Compilers in the Earlier Middle Ages: Studies in Medieval Canon Law in Honour of Linda Fowler-Magerl* (Farnham, 2009), 59–72.

25 Stokes, *Lives of the Saints*, 268. In *Apgitir Chrábaid* ('The Alphabet of Devotion'), a text that may date from *ca* AD 600, the three waves which go over a person in baptism are interpreted as renunciation 'of the world with its vanities, the devil with his snares, the passions of the flesh': V. Hull, 'Apgitir Chrábaid: the alphabet of piety', *Celtica*, 8 (1968), 44–89 at 74–5.

26 W. Stubbs, *Gesta Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis*, 2 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1867), i, 28. The version of the decree recorded by Gerald of Wales has no such detail: *Expugnatio*, 98–9.

prefiguration of the saint's chastity, and in a Life of St Naile, where it prefigures the saint's piety and learning.[27] In neither of those Lives is there any suggestion that immersion in milk formed part of a baptismal ceremony. It is possible that Roger of Howden confused or conjoined what may have been a secular practice with a baptismal rite. In his revised *Chronica* he omitted any mention of the use of milk, stating only that a child was to be immersed in clean water three times, in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit; and that this was to be done by a priest, to which he added, by contrast with his account in the *Gesta*, 'except in some cases where fear of imminent death prevented it, when it might be done by another person, and in a place other than a church, and in those circumstances it was permissible for it to be carried out by any person regardless of sex or rank'.[28] Doubtless, imminent death was the exceptional circumstances that Gillebertus of Limerick had in mind.

Gillebertus assumed that communion would also be given to the newly baptised.[29] In the ninth-century missal associated with the church of Lorrha (co. Tipperary), now known as the Stowe missal, provision was made for the newly baptised to receive communion during the baptismal rite.[30] Around 1080/1 Bishop Domnall Ua hÉnna, court bishop of Toirdelbach Ua Briain, king of Munster and high-king, wrote to Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury querying whether the English church believed that baptised infants who had not also received communion before they died would go to heaven. Domnall's letter is not extant – only Lanfranc's firmly worded reply that 'neither the continental churches nor we English hold the view that you think we hold concerning infants'.[31] Lanfranc's response, citing Mark 16:16, 'He who has been believed and been baptised will be saved', was that baptism was sufficient for salvation and that reception of the eucharist, while beneficial and desirable, was not essential. The tenor of Lanfranc's reply can only be read to suggest that Domnall was seeking the views of Lanfranc and the English church, about which he was uncertain. It cannot be assumed that the giving of communion to infants at baptism was, or was not, being practised by the Irish church in his day.[32] That Domnall

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27 A. T. Lucas, *Cattle in Ancient Ireland, Originally Delivered as the Rhind Lectures in Edinburgh* (Kilkenny, 1989), 6.

28 W. Stubbs, *Chronica Rogeri de Houedone*, 4 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1868–71), ii, 31. For the view that Roger of Howden was in Henry II's entourage in Ireland, though not personally present at the council of Cashel, see J. Gillingham, 'The travels of Roger of Howden and his views of the Irish, Scots and Welsh', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 20 (1998), 151–69, reprinted in his *The English in the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge, 2000), 69–91 at 84–6. Gillingham did not repeat this suggestion in his more recent 'Writing the biography of Roger of Howden, king's clerk and chronicler' in D. Bates, J. Crick, and S. Hamilton (eds), *Writing Medieval Biography, 750–1250: Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow* (Woodbridge, 2006), 207–20.

29 *Communicare statim debet baptizatos*: Fleming, *Gille*, 156–7.

30 Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, ii, 32, lines 21–2, as cited by Holland, 'On the dating of the Corpus missal', 294. The Stowe missal, however, does not explicitly refer to infant baptism.

31 *Letters of Lanfranc*, no. 49.

32 Holland's interpretation of Lanfranc's reply assumes that contemporary Irish practice can be

Ua hÉnna addressed his query to Lanfranc may indicate that he knew him to be the author of a treatise *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini* ('Concerning the Body and Blood of the Lord') written in defence of the eucharistic confession which had been imposed by Pope Nicholas II on Berengarius of Tours. Lanfranc's treatise had established his reputation as a theologian. It could even be that the timing of Domnall Ua hÉnna's letter was occasioned by knowledge, or hearsay, of Berengarius's final written recantation in February 1079.[33] It may be pertinent that Domnall's death-notice in the Annals of Ulster described him as 'eminent in both laws, that is, Roman and Irish'.[34] In an earlier letter written about 1074 to Toirdelbach Ua Briain, 'king of Ireland', Lanfranc had included among his criticisms that infants in Ireland were being baptised without the use of consecrated chrism.[35] Symbolically, the application of chrism oil at baptism signified the reception of the Holy Spirit in fulfilment of John's gospel that no-one can enter into the kingdom of God unless birth come to him by 'water and the Holy Spirit' (John, 3:5). That allusion to the ritual of baptism may have stimulated debate about its essential elements among clergy in the circle of Toirdelbach Ua Briain.

Gillebertus of Limerick envisaged the presence of baptismal sponsors, or godparents, when he stated that 'no one may marry his godmother (*commater*) since he has been joined to her once in the church and the church forbids anyone to repeat a bond with the same person'.[36] While there is ample evidence from Irish sources for foster-parentage, there are fewer references to god-parenthood, though the two were sometimes linked.[37] In 1092 Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair, king of Connacht, was blinded by Flaithbertach Ua Flaithbertaig and Fogartach Ua Fogartaig despite the fact that Ruaidrí was Ua Flaithbertaig's fosterer (*ailtre*) and his spiritual kin (*cairdes Críst*) 'seven times over (*fo secht*)'.[38] In 1138 Cormac Mac Carthaig, king of Munster, was treacherously killed by Toirdelbach Ua Briain, king of Thomond, 'his spiritual kin (*cairdes Críst*) and his fosterer'.[39] This killing was sufficiently horrifying to cause the Armagh scribe Máel Brigte

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deduced from Domnall Ua hÉnna's query. Unfortunately, we do not have as proof 'the word of the most senior cleric in Munster' that the Irish church was no longer administering the eucharist at baptism: Holland, 'On the dating of the Corpus missal', 294. Administering communion at infant baptism was being debated in the school of Laon around 1100: *Letters of Lanfranc*, 157 n. 3.

33 C. M. Radding, *Theology, Rhetoric and Politics in the Eucharistic Controversy* (New York, 2003), 104–17.

34 *AU* 1098.8, *AFM*, where he is described as 'a doctor of both orders, Roman and Irish'; cf. *AI* 1098.25, *AT*, *CS*, 1094=1098, *ALC* 1096=1098. See also the death-notice in the same year of the otherwise unknown Máel Ísu ua Stuir, *scriba philosophiae Mumunensium immo omnium Scotorum*: *AU* 1098.3, *AI* 1098.3, *AFM*.

35 *Letters of Lanfranc*, no. 10; above, p. 40.

36 Fleming, *Gille*, 152–3.

37 For an annalistic reference to *cairdes Críst*, see p. 176. It has been argued that the importance of the institution of fosterage in Irish society made it difficult for spiritual kinship 'to make much headway': T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Irish and Welsh Kinship* (Oxford, 1993), 78.

38 *AT*, *AFM*, *CS* 1088=1092; cf. *AU* 1092.3, *ALC*, *AClon*, 185.

39 *AT* 1138.

Ua Máel Uanaig to enter a note in the gospel-book he was copying in 1138 to the effect that it was an awful deed that Cormac Mac Carthaig had been killed by Toirdelbach Ua Briain.[40]

The other essential occasion that involved a pastoral ministration to the laity was death and burial. One of the fourteen duties of the priest, according to Gillebertus, was to pray for the souls of the faithful as they were dying – that is, he assumed the attendance of a priest at the hour of death. In the Vision of Tnugdal, when Tnugdal fell ill in the town of Cork and the symptoms of death became apparent, his body was laid down, bells were rung and the priest came running.[41] Gillebertus envisaged that a priest would anoint a dying person with oil and administer the last rites but ought to do so only once, adding that it frequently happened that the act of anointing healed not only the soul but also the body. Communion was also to be given to the dying if they asked for it by word or a sign, or if one of the faithful present vouched that the dying person had earlier requested it.[42] Annalistic death-notices and hagiographical accounts afford ample evidence for anointing, absolution and the reception of communion by the dying from ministering priests. In the Life of St Flannán of Killaloe the saint's father, Toirdelbach, realising that he is close to death, calls for his son and 'spiritual father' to give him communion and prepare him for heaven.[43] In *Clann Ollaman Uaisle Emna*, a poem on the Christian kings of Ulster written during the reign of Eochaid Mac Duinn Sléibe (1158–66), his predecessor Cú Ulad Mac Duinn Sléibe (*ob.* 1157) is described as 'partaking of the Lord's body' before death.[44] The hearing of death-bed confession was a further aspect of pastoral ministry to the dying. Diarmait Mac Murchada died at Ferns in 1171 'after victory of unction and penance'.[45] Gillebertus mentioned confession only in the context of the priest 'receiving back into the unity of the faith repentant sinners who are near to death'; he did not appear to assume the regular practice of confession, imposition of penance and absolution.[46] Evidence for the practice of

40 W. Stokes, 'The Irish verses, notes and glosses in Harl. 1802', *Revue Celtique*, 8 (1887), 346–69 at 358–9. There is a further note in which the scribe referred to the killing in the year that he was writing of *cormac mac cardaig rígescop muman 7 herenn archena innamsir*, 'Cormac Mac Carthaig, royal bishop of Munster and of Ireland besides in his time'. These entries are an indirect reflection of the close relationship forged between Malachy and Cormac Mac Carthaig: above, p. 203.

41 *Corpus extenditur, pulsantur signa, accurit clerus*: *Visio Tnugdali*, *7; *Vision of Tnugdal*, 112. *Signa* denoted church bells, by contrast with the *tintinabulum* or handbell. Cf. above, p. 65.

42 Fleming, *Gille*, 156–7.

43 *Vita Flannani*, 292; cf. Colmán of Lann's promise that Onchú, king of Fir Tulach, would not die before the saint had given him the eucharist: K. Meyer, *Betha Colmáin maic Lúacháin: Life of Colmán son of Lúachan, Edited from a Manuscript in the Library of Rennes with Translation, Introduction, Notes, and Indices*, Todd Lecture Series, 17 (Dublin, 1911), 46–7.

44 F. J. Byrne, 'Clann Ollaman Uaisle Emna', *Studia Hibernica*, 4 (1964), 54–94 at 73, 80.

45 R. I. Best, O. Bergin, and M. A. O'Brien (eds), *The Book of Leinster Formerly Lebar na Núachongbála*, 6 vols, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (Dublin, 1956–83), i, 184.

46 Fleming, *Gille*, 156–7.

lay confession emerges fitfully during the period from about 1000 to 1215, the year in which the fourth Lateran Council enjoined confession as obligatory at least once a year on all adults.[47] If there is little enough evidence for the spread and frequency of lay confession in Continental Europe, the situation in Ireland is yet more obscure. Bernard of Clairvaux depicted Malachy ministering confession and the eucharist to a dying man as part of the last rites, but offered no information about lay confession in the ordinary course of life, merely stating in relation to Malachy's reforms as bishop of Connor that he had introduced confession for the laity where it had not previously been practised.[48]

There is some evidence that confession by laity at times other than on the point of death was increasing in importance during the twelfth century. Diarmait Mac Murchada would appear to have had a regular confessor and not just on his death-bed. In a charter issued by Diarmait *ca* 1166 he referred to Áed Ua Cáellaide, bishop of Louth, as his 'spiritual father and confessor'.[49] While the term 'spiritual father' is well attested in Latin sources with a spectrum of meanings that includes 'baptizer, godfather, teacher, spiritual guide'[50] and most probably equates with *anmchara* ('soul friend') of the early Irish church, the addition of the term 'confessor' in Diarmait's charter suggests an acknowledged extension of the role of spiritual adviser. Of somewhat later date, an extant original indulgence issued by Echmílid (Malachias III), bishop of Down (*a*. 1176–1202), around 1183 in association with John de Courcy's foundation of a Cistercian abbey at Inch, casts another slim shaft of light on lay penance, a concomitant of confession. Echmílid's letter was addressed to archbishops, bishops, abbots and all the Christian faithful, and promised remission of forty days of penance for attendance at Inch on the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin (15 August) and the donation of alms in support of the building of the new abbey.[51] A grant of indulgence would have been meaningless without an established practice of penance since the indulgence remitted a portion of a penance that had already been imposed by a confessor. An indulgence represented the remission not of sin or wrong-doing – which only God could judge – but of a specified period of enjoined penance, the earthly mortification that had been imposed upon a penitent by his confessor. As such, it was implicitly linked to regular confession rather than merely death-bed confession. The granting of indulgences can be interpreted as a means of lending positive encouragement to the practice of lay confession.

Commutations of penance, substituting shorter, more severe mortifications or

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47 4 Lateran 21 in N. P. Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols (London, 1990), i, 245; A. Murray, 'Confession before 1215', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th Series, 3 (1993), 51–81.

48 *Vita Malachiae*, 325–6, 352, line 11; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 33, 35, 61.

49 *Spiritualis pater et confessor*: Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters*, 270–71.

50 J. H. Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton, NJ, 1986), 165–9.

51 H. G. Richardson, 'Some Norman monastic foundations in Ireland' in J. A. Watt, J. B. Morrall, and F. X. Martin (eds), *Medieval Studies Presented to Aubrey Gwynn, S. J.* (Dublin, 1961), 43.

a payment of alms, had formed an essential feature of the system of tariffed penance or specified expiation in the early Irish church.[52] On the evidence of the Irish penitentials, or handbooks for confessors, penances, expressed as a set number of days or years spent fasting, might be commuted through a payment. If such penitential practices still exercised influence in the twelfth-century Irish church, the concept of an indulgence could readily have been substituted.[53] The key distinction between earlier commutations of penance and an indulgence, however, was that the indulgence was linked specifically to episcopal authority: the exclusive role of the bishop in granting indulgences intruded a new element into the relationship between penitent and confessor. Echmílid's indulgence, using the forty-day Lenten standard, implies, or at any rate was meant to encourage, regular confession by the laity. The development of a system of indulgences enabled bishops to extend their own authority by defining and measuring spiritual healing, in the case of Echmílid's indulgence the precise spiritual benefit that an individual could hope to procure from visiting Inch Abbey on the feast-day of the Assumption. It is not therefore difficult to understand why indulgences should have appealed as much to bishops as an expression of their authority as to the pious faithful to whom they were addressed. Echmílid's indulgence also implicitly stressed the importance of lay bestowal of alms on the church as an aid towards salvation. The requirement for personal attendance on the feast-day of the Assumption in order to gain the indulgence affords evidence too for engagement of the laity in the celebration of this Marian feast.

Echmílid's indulgence is noteworthy in another respect. Indulgences, awarded by popes, legates and bishops, only became a feature from the late eleventh century onwards. An examination by Nicholas Vincent of indulgences issued by bishops in England between *ca* 1100 and 1215 failed to uncover a single indulgence issued in connection with a Cistercian house which pre-dated the 1220s. Vincent suggests that this may reflect a deliberate abstention on the part of the Cistercians.[54] That would allow greater weight to Echmílid's initiative in issuing the indulgence. The chance preservation of Echmílid's original document at Furness, the mother-house of Inch Abbey, resulted from the fact that it was used for fund-raising purposes by the monks of Furness, who exhibited the letter to prospective benefactors.

According to Gillebertus of Limerick the parish priest was to officiate at burials in consecrated ground and he described how, together with the grave-digger, the priest should throw earth on the coffin three times while saying 'From the earth you made me'.[55] Gillebertus listed the cemetery as one of eight

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52 Texts in L. Bieler (ed.), *The Irish Penitentials*, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, 5 (Dublin, 1975).

53 K. Dooley, 'From penance to confession: the Celtic contribution', *Bijdragen: Tijdschrift voor Filosofie en Theologie*, 43 (1982), 390–411.

54 N. Vincent, 'Some pardoners' tales: the earliest English indulgences', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Series 6, 12 (2002), 23–58 at 43–4.

55 Fleming, *Gille*, 158–9; above, p. 79, n. 228.

constituent elements that sustained a priest of a parish. He did not specifically name the cemetery among the items that had to be consecrated by a bishop, but it would have been encompassed within the episcopally consecrated *atrium*.[56] There is ample evidence that the consecration of cemeteries was a well-recognised episcopal function, alluded to, for example, in the ninth-century Rule of Patrick[57] and in twelfth-century annalistic notices of church consecrations.[58] The Life of Colmán mac Lúacháin stressed that the cemetery at his church at Lann had been consecrated by Bishop Étchén of Clonfad,[59] which may have been pertinent in promoting the status of Lann as a place of burial. It is further recounted that other saints were assigned portions of the cemetery, so that a visit to Lann would also count as a pilgrimage in their honour. Gillebertus detailed a separate burial plot for those who had been drowned or killed, presumably because they had not received the benefits of the last rites. Additionally, the bodies of unbelievers and criminals were to be placed in another yet more distant plot, 'since those to whom communion is not offered in life, should also be denied association in death'; in other words, excommunicates were not to be buried alongside the faithful.[60]

Although, as Gillebertus implicitly assumed, the local church would have been the normal burial plot for most people, kings and higher ecclesiastics might be buried in a major ecclesiastical settlement. Brian Bóruma was interred not in the Dál Cais church of Killaloe but at Armagh in 1014 in order to emphasise even in death his attainment of the high-kingship.[61] His early-twelfth-century heroic biography *Cogad Gaedel re Gallaib* described how the warriors of the Dál Cais who were killed after the battle of Clontarf (1014) were buried where they died at Athy (co. Kildare), 'except such of their nobles as were brought to their native places to be buried in their hereditary churches (*ina cceallaibh dúthchais*) with honour; and thus they arrived at Kincora'.[62] There was a 'cemetery of the kings' at Clonmacnois[63] and a 'cemetery of bishops' at Lismore, where Cellach of Armagh was buried in 1129.[64] In the Life of Flannán the saint pleaded with his

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56 Above, p. 65. n. 152.

57 O'Keeffe, 'Rule of Patrick', 219, 222.

58 Above, p. 43.

59 Meyer, *Betha Colmáin*, 30–31, 40–41.

60 Fleming, *Gille*, 156–9. Cf. the (undated) Life of St Mochoemóc where St Cainnech objected to the burial of a murdered man among monks: *Hunc hominem qui repente occisus est, non debes sepelire inter monachos tuos*. Mochoemóc, not wishing to defy Cainnech, initially buried the man in a distant location, prophesying that the murderer himself would soon die. When he did so, Mochoemóc temporarily brought the slain man back to life, gave him the eucharist, and reburied him with due ceremony in the monastic cemetery, while the murderer was placed in the disreputable grave: Plummer, *Vitae SS Hib.*, ii, 173.

61 Below, p. 214, n. 68.

62 J. H. Todd (ed.), *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh: The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, or the Invasions of Ireland by the Danes and other Norsemen*, Rolls Series (London, 1867), 216–17.

63 E. Bhreathnach, 'Learning and literature in early medieval Clonmacnoise' in H. King (ed.), *Clonmacnoise Studies, Volume 2: Seminar Papers 1998* (Dublin, 2003), 100–102.

64 Below, p. 215, n. 73.

father, King Toirdelbach, not to return to the monastery of Lismore lest he should die there, resulting in his sons and grandsons and descendants having to be transported for burial at that location: 'and what a labour, and what a sorrow, and what a humiliation it would be to have to carry the bodies of the noble dead through so many inaccessible places and through so many rugged mountains'.[65] By divine providence, the king fell ill as he was crossing the bridge over the Shannon at Killaloe and was after all able to be buried at Killaloe with great ceremony. In 1166 a cleric of the church of Derry fasted against the clergy of Armagh because Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn, king of Cenél nEógain and high-king, was buried at Armagh.[66] Derry had come to be regarded as the customary burial place of the Mac Lochlainn kings,[67] and the issue was contentious because family alms and donations inevitably followed corpses.

Royal and episcopal burials would have been impressive ceremonies. In 1014 the body of Brian Bóruma, who had been killed at the battle of Clontarf, was met at Swords by the head of the church of Armagh and an entourage of clergy with their relics and, following burial in a new tomb at Armagh, the clergy conducted a wake for twelve days 'on account of the honour of the king who was placed there'.[68] The Life of St Flannán described the splendour of King Toirdelbach's interment, accompanied by the sounding of trumpets and pipes.[69] While burial in a cemetery ground would have been the usual practice, high-status individuals may have had sarcophagi that were incorporated within the fabric of a church. The magnificent twelfth-century stone sarcophagus decorated with Urnes-style snake patterns now situated at the west end of Cormac's Chapel may have been made for the burial of Cormac's brother, Tadc Mac Carthaig, king of Desmond (1118–24).[70] In 1156, when Toirdelbach Ua Conchobair, king of Connacht, died, he was interred at Clonmacnois 'beside the altar of Ciarán', while his son, Ruaidrí (*ob.* 1198) was to be buried 'on the north side of the altar'.[71] In 1158, when Amlaíb Ua Donnchada, king of Eóganacht Locha Léin, was killed by the bank of the River Suir by Muirchertach, son of Toirdelbach Ua Briain, king of Thomond, 'his own family and his followers took the body of Amlaíb to Aghadoe [co. Kerry] and he was honourably buried by them with hymns, and

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65 *Vita Flannani*, 291.

66 *AU.*

67 Above, p. 166.

68 *AU²* 1014.2; cf. *AFM*. The Munster Annals of Inisfallen omitted to record that Brian had not been buried at Killaloe: *AI* 1014.2.

69 *Vita Flannani*, 291–2.

70 J. Bradley, 'The sarcophagus at Cormac's Chapel, Cashel, Co. Tipperary', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 26 (1984), 14–35.

71 *AT*, *AFM* 1156, 1198. For a poem describing their graves, see R. I. Best, 'The graves of the kings at Clonmacnois', *Ériu*, 2 (1905), 163–71. For the Ua Conchobair kings as patrons of Clonmacnois, see A. Kehnel, *Clonmacnois – the Church and Lands of St Ciarán: Change and Continuity in an Irish Monastic Foundation (6th to 16th century)*, Vita Regularis, 8 (Münster, 1997), 127–9.

psalms, and Masses on the right side of the church that he himself had caused to be built in honour of the Trinity and of Mary'.[72] In 1129 Cellach, bishop of Armagh, died at Ardpatrick (co. Limerick) on Monday 1 April and his body was moved on the Wednesday to Lismore, where it was waked with psalms, hymns and canticles, and interred on the Thursday in the 'tomb (*ailaid*) of the bishops' in accordance with his testament (*timna*).[73] In 1138 Malachy's brother Gilla Críst Ua Morgair, bishop of Clogher/Louth, was interred not in his own cathedral but 'in the church of Peter and Paul at Armagh'.[74]

The priest, according to Gillebertus, had a duty to continue to remember in his Mass and other prayers those whom he had buried.[75] The chances of salvation for any but monks had been considered slight until the twelfth century: laymen had been admonished to renounce the secular world and enter a monastery in order to gain salvation. However, the potential population of heaven increased dramatically from the twelfth century onwards because the prospect of eternal salvation was extended to a wider group of believers as clergy conceded that laymen might earn spiritual rewards by good works and prayer without formally renouncing the world. As articulated in the first decree of the fourth Lateran council (1215), 'not only virgins and the continent, but also married persons find favour with God, by right faith and good actions and deserve to attain to eternal blessedness'.[76] The emerging distinction between hell and purgatory that was elaborated in the course of the twelfth century widened the prospect for sinners of attaining heaven after due reparation had been made, which could include Masses and prayers offered on their behalf by clergy and monks.[77] In the Vision of Tnugdal the middle space between heaven and hell contained not only kings such as Cormac Mac Carthaig, his brother Donnchad, and Conchobar Ua Briain, but also anonymous lay people, 'faithful spouses' who had given generously to the poor.[78]

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72 *MIA* 1158.7.

73 *AU²* 1129.3, *AFM*; cf. *AI* 1129.6, *CS* 1125=1129, *AT*.

74 *AFM*. His father, Mugrón (*ob.* 1102), had been lector at Armagh. An interlinear insertion in *AU* records that Mugrón died at Mungret (co. Limerick): *AU²* 1102.12; cf. *AFM*, *AT*, *CS* 1098=1102.

75 Fleming, *Gille*, 156–7. The Drummond missal contains a votive Mass *pro his qui in cimitherio requiescunt*: Forbes, *Missale Drummondiense*, 39–40. Lorcán Ua Tuathail as archbishop of Dublin, according to his early-thirteenth-century Life, on rising every morning used to go to the cemetery and chant prayers for the faithful departed: C. Plummer, 'Vie et miracles de S. Laurent, archevêque de Dublin', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 33 (1914), 121–85, 139. Cf. the description in the *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii* of the pious priest who every morning first went around the church graveyard and sang seven psalms for the faithful departed: R. Easting (ed.), *St Patrick's Purgatory: Two Versions of Owayne Miles and the Vision of William of Stranton together with the Long Version of the Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*, Early English Text Society, 298 (Oxford, 1991), 153; J.-M. Picard and Y. de Pontfarcy, *Saint Patrick's Purgatory: A Twelfth-Century Tale of a Journey to the Otherworld* (Blackrock, Co. Dublin, 1985), 76.

76 4 Lateran 1 in Tanner, *Decrees*, 231.

77 See the various votive Masses for the dead, including the lay faithful, in Warren, *The Manuscript Irish Missal*, 69–80; Lawlor, *The Rosslyn Missal*, 92–5; Forbes, *Missale Drummondiense*, 33–9.

78 *Visio Tnugdali*; *47–*9; *Vision of Tnugdal*, 146–7.

Gillebertus stated that although a priest might promise pardon to sinners who repented at the final hour, nevertheless a debt of punishment could remain to be discharged in the 'purgatorial fire', which would complete the cleansing of the person who had not made full satisfaction and repentance before death; as he elucidated, 'the labour of the living is the rest of the dead' – in other words, he expected the laity to make offerings on behalf of the souls of the dead.[79] Of course, prayers for the dead were not a new feature in the twelfth-century Irish church. They are attested in a wide range of earlier sources, as, for example, in the Irish Canon Collection, 716×25,[80] the Rule of Patrick,[81] and vernacular law-texts, such as *Córus Béscnai* ('The Proper Arrangement of Custom'), the subject matter of which was the reciprocal duties of clergy and laity. However, changing attitudes during the eleventh and twelfth centuries to human destiny and the Last Judgement made the felt need for prayers for the dead and Masses to relieve them of punishment in purgatory more imperative. The dead were divided, following St Augustine, into those who were so good that they had no need of the prayers of the living, those who were so wicked that no prayers would help, and those in between whose lot after death could be affected by not only the prayers but also the fasts and alms of the living.[82] As an example of Malachy's humility and humanitarianism, Bernard of Clairvaux had described how, while still in minor orders, Malachy had devoted himself to the burial of the poor, despite the criticisms of his sister who deemed such tasks as undignified, citing scripture: 'Let the dead bury the dead'.[83] When that same sister died, Malachy had a vision in which he saw her standing outside the church and tasting nothing for a whole thirty days.[84] On waking, Malachy realised the import of the dream: he had ceased offering Mass for the repose of her soul. He began praying for her and not long afterwards, he saw her come to the precinct (*atrium*) of the church in a dark garment, but she was still unable to enter. Persevering with his prayers, he saw her a second time in an off-white garment admitted to the interior of the church, though still not permitted to approach the altar. In a third vision, he finally saw her in bright garments in the choir of the church. Bernard's intention was to emphasise the importance of continuing prayers for the dead and, in particular, during the thirty-day period following the death of the deceased,

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79 Fleming, *Gille*, 158–9.
80 Irish Canon Collection, 15, in H. Wasserschleben (ed.), *Die Irische Kanonensammlung*, revised edn (Leipzig, 1885), 42–5. The four ways in which the dead were to be helped was by offering Mass, praying for the repose of their souls, fasting and alms.
81 'Singing of the intercession for the living and the dead': O'Keeffe, 'Rule of Patrick', 219, 223. For the *Missa pro mortuis pluribus* in the Stowe missal, see Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, 23.
82 This categorisation is common to *Scéla Laí Brátha* (retaining the Latin terms in the otherwise Irish text) and the Vision of Tnugdal: W. Stokes, 'Tidings of Doomsday: an early-middle-Irish homily', *Revue Celtique*, 4 (1879–80), 245–57, 479–80, 250–51; *Visio Tnudgali* *41–*2; *Vision of Tnugdal*, 50–51, 59–60, 141–2.
83 Above, p. 149.
84 *Vita Malachiae*, 320–21; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 28–9. For *atrium* as precinct, see above, p. 65, n. 152.

known as the *tricenarium* or *tricenale*.[85] While that story might be said to reflect Bernard of Clairvaux's own concern for remembering the dead, since there was a Cistercian emphasis on the importance of prayer during the thirty days immediately following a death,[86] there remains the possibility that the account might have derived from Irish material supplied to Bernard. The Corpus and Drummond missals each contain a votive Mass to be said for the dead 'from the first day of death until the thirtieth day'.[87]

More occasional and remote would have been the contact of the laity with the bishop, although they ought to have encountered him at least for the sacrament of confirmation. In the Rule of Patrick the necessity for episcopal confirmation is stressed, its importance emphasised by averring that baptism was incomplete until the person 'went under the hand of the bishop'.[88] How routine the conferral of confirmation was is impossible to tell. Throughout Europe, it was 'the most elusive of the sacraments'.[89] Bernard depicted Bishop Máel Ísu (Malchus) Ua hAinmire (*ob.* 1135) curing a young boy while confirming him with holy unction, while he stated of Malachy that he had re-instituted (*de novo instituit*) the sacrament of confirmation.[90] More generally, Bernard was at pains to emphasise in his Life of Malachy that the saint was tireless in travelling and preaching, while the Life of Flannán also depicted a saintly bishop who was assiduous in visiting his flock and preaching.

Baptism, the last rites, confirmation and marriage[91] were special ritual events that were not repeatable, unlike reception of the eucharist. The celebration of the eucharist was the chief sacrament of the church, but communion by the laity may not necessarily have been frequent. Whereas abstaining from manual work and attendance at Mass on Sundays and on all important festivals by the laity had long been expected, as evidenced, to cite but two examples, by the eighth-century Sabbatarian tract *Cáin Domnaig* ('The Law of Sunday'),[92] and the ordinance passed in 1040 by Donnchad, son of Brian Bóruma, 'that none should dare to

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85 Pope Gregory I related how a dead monk was released from the torments of fire after Mass had been offered for him for thirty consecutive days: Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, IV, 57 in de Vogüé and Antin, *Grégoire le Grand: Dialogues*, iii, 191–5. This is the probable origin of the *tricenarium*.

86 See C. Holdsworth, 'Eleven visions connected with the Cistercian monastery of Stratford Langthorne', *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses*, 13 (1962), 185–204 at 189, 196.

87 *A prima die obitus usque ad trigesimam diem*: Warren, *The Manuscript Irish Missal*, 70–71; *haec missa debet cantari usque ad dies XXX post mortem defuncti*: Forbes, *Missale Drummondiense*, 38.

88 O'Keeffe, 'Rule of Patrick', 218, 221. On the importance of confirmation in the Rule of Patrick, see T. M. Charles-Edwards, 'The pastoral role of the church in the early Irish laws' in J. Blair and R. Sharpe (eds), *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester, 1992), 69.

89 R. Sharpe, 'Churches and communities in early medieval Ireland: towards a pastoral model' in J. Blair and R. Sharpe (eds), *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester, 1992), 81.

90 *Inter confirmandum sacra unctione sanavit*: *Vita Malachiae*, 316–17; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 22, 24.

91 For marriage, see above, pp. 184–95.

92 V. Hull, '*Cáin Domnaig*', *Ériu*, 20 (1966), 151–77.

steal, or do feats of arms on Sunday, or go out on Sunday carrying any load, and furthermore that none should dare to fetch cattle within doors',[93] it was not necessarily the case that lay people regularly received communion. Gillebertus stated that they should do so at Christmas, Easter and Whitsun.[94] The fourth Lateran council (1215) was to decree that the laity had to receive communion at least once a year.[95]

For the majority of the laity it may be assumed that it was communal worship, especially at the great festivals, that informed their piety. Gillebertus specifically alluded to the feasts of Christmas, the Purification (2 February), Ash Wednesday, Holy Thursday, Palm Sunday, Easter and Whitsun. Among the items that were to be blessed by the priest in a parish, Gillebertus mentioned candles for the feast of the Purification, ashes for Ash Wednesday and branches of palms for Palm Sunday.[96] The feast of the Purification, occurring forty days after Christmas, provided a liturgical link between Christmas and Lent. Gillebertus's interpretation of this feast was Mariological rather than Christological: he described it as the Purification of Mary rather than the Presentation of the Child Jesus in the Temple.[97] Lent was a period of penitential fast and abstinence from meat. Among the charges levelled against the Irish by Gerald of Wales was that they ate meat during Lent, a charge elaborated in particularly dramatic form by his account of how he heard from some sailors that they had come across two semi-naked Irishmen in the remoteness of Connacht who had never been baptised, knew nothing of Christ, and did not abstain from eating meat during Lent.[98] When describing the high numbers of barnacle geese in Ireland, Gerald claimed that in some parts of the country even bishops and religious men held that such geese could be eaten without committing sin during periods of abstinence because the geese did not sit on eggs and therefore were not flesh born of flesh.[99] More soberly, Pope Alexander III, in his letter to Henry II in 1172 endorsing the king's intervention in Ireland, stated that he had been informed that the Irish ate meat during Lent.[100] In 1203 there was such famine generally throughout Ireland that

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93 Above, p. 176.

94 Fleming, *Gille*, 156–7.

95 4 Lateran 21 in Tanner, *Decrees*, 245.

96 Above, p. 66.

97 It occurs as the Presentation in W. Stokes, *The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee: Félire Óengusso Céli Dé*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 29 (London, 1905; reprinted 1984), 58; *Félire Húi Gormáin*, 28–9; Warren, *The Manuscript Irish Missal*, 62, 148–9; Lawlor, *The Rosslyn Missal*, 48–51; cf. below, p. 220, n. 109. On the changing character of this feast, see K. W. Stevenson, 'The origins and development of Candlemas: a struggle for identity and coherence' in J. N. Alexander (ed.), *Time and Community: In Honor of Thomas Julian Talley* (Washington, DC, 1990), 43–76. For the dedication to the Virgin of Gillebertus's cathedral at Limerick, cf. above, p. 71.

98 J. J. O'Meara, 'Giraldus Cambrensis in Topographia Hibernie', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 52C (1949), 169; *Giraldi Opera*, v, 171; Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, transl. J. J. O'Meara (Harmondsworth, 1982), 110–11.

99 Ibid., 41–2.

100 Sheehy, *Pontificia*, i, no. 6.

annalists recorded that even the clergy were obliged to eat meat during Lent, which is indicative of routine abstinence by that date.[101]

The celebration of Easter is the feast most frequently mentioned in Irish hagiographical texts: a time of numerous miracles performed by and for saints who might otherwise have been embarrassed by a lack of provisions of food and ale, especially for visiting bishops. Kings might take up residence at major ecclesiastical settlements during Lent and Easter. Temporary structures termed *tech Cásca* ('Easter house'), were erected by kings for the celebration of Easter;[102] in 1124 'it was a great shock' to the king of Tara that his 'Easter house' collapsed on him and his household on Easter Sunday.[103] A high-status cleric might be attached to a royal court during Easter, as, for example, in 1026, when the head of the church of Armagh with his 'venerable clerics' travelled south to Kincora to spend Easter 'in the house of Donnchad son of Brian Bóruma'.[104] The sixty vats of mead and bragget accidentally burnt in 1107 as a result of a strike of lightning at Kincora – the location both of an episcopal see and royal residence – between Easter Sunday and Little Easter (*Mínchaisc*, the first Sunday after Easter), were probably provisions in store for the celebration of the feast.[105] The English monastic historian William of Newburgh, writing 1194×98, reported that an unnamed Irish bishop had recounted to him how in the northern province of Ireland Easter was celebrated to excess, for the people 'supposed that they rendered God service by amassing during the course of the year through theft and plunder what they might expend at the solemnity of Easter upon the most lavish feasts, as if in honour of the Lord's resurrection; and there was among them great rivalry, lest one should be outdone by the other in the most extravagant preparation and display of dishes'.[106] In 1119 Cú Collchaile Ua Baíghelláin was killed by the men of Lurg and Tuath Rátha with his wife, two sons and thirty-five others, both household and guests, all in one house on the Saturday before 'little Easter'.[107] These references indicate a week-long celebration during the octave of Easter.[108] In 1182 Pope Lucius III confirmed to John Cumin, archbishop of

101 *ALC*, *AI* 1203.2.
102 *MIA* 1147.3, 1165.2, *AFM* 1201.
103 *AU²* 1124.3. Its location is not recorded.
104 *AI* 1026.3.
105 *AU²* 1107.2. For twelfth-century Killaloe, see J. Bradley, 'Killaloe: a pre-Norman borough?', *Peritia*, 8 (1994), 170–79.
106 William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* in R. Howlett (ed.), *Chronicles, Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, 4 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1885–90), ii. 239. On his career as a historian, see J. Taylor, 'Newburgh, William of' in *ODNB*, xl, 587–9.
107 *AU²* 1119.3, *AI* 1119.2, *ALC*, *AFM*; cf. *CS* 1115=1119. In the *vita prima* of Brigit the celebration of Easter is represented as lasting from Holy Thursday to the Sunday after Easter Sunday: Connolly, '*Vita prima Sanctae Brigitae*', 19–20. The text assumes that kings would also celebrate the solemnity of Whitsun in an important church: ibid., 28. For the use by annalists of *Mínchaisc* as an important chronological marker, see *AI* 919, 1013.7, 1204.1, *AT* 1066, *ALC* 1109. Cf. *Notlaic mór*, 'Great Christmas': *AI* 907.2.
108 In 1059 Donnchad, son of Brian Bóruma, submitted to Áed Ua Conchobair, king of Connacht,

Dublin, at his request the privileges of his office, specifying that he could wear the pallium in his own church on the same days as had his predecessors, naming Christmas Day, St Stephen's Day (26 December), Epiphany (6 January), Hypapante (2 February),[109] Palm Sunday, Holy Thursday, Holy Saturday, Easter Sunday, Easter Monday, Ascension day, Whitsun, the three feasts of the Blessed Virgin, the nativity of St John the Baptist (24 June), All Saints' day (1 November) and the feasts of all the apostles, as well as at dedications and consecrations of bishops and ordinations of clergy, on the chief feasts of his church and on the anniversary of his consecration.[110] It is probable, however, that this list of the major feasts in the liturgical calendar originated in the papal chancery and did not specifically reflect the local liturgical calendar within the diocese of Dublin.[111]

The feast day of the local patronal saint would have drawn a large lay congregation, especially in cases where a church possessed the tomb or relics associated with its founding saint. In the Vision of Mac Conglinne the eponymous hero was described as joining the throng of Munster men who were going to Cork to fast for the feasts of SS. Bairre (Finbarr) and Nessan.[112] The cult of saints, so central to medieval religion, focused around particular shrines and reliquaries, and the annals provide the names of numerous relics of Irish saints.[113] The refurbishment of existing relics and the discovery of new ones from the eleventh century onwards was in line with Rodulfus Glaber's description of how around the year 1000 not only were churches renovated but new relics also brought to light.[114] The church of Armagh refurbished the relic of St Patrick's tooth, first mentioned by Bishop Tírechán in the late seventh century, while the 'Bell of the Testament', also associated with Patrick, was repaired and received a new decorative covering. Inscriptions on the latter record that it was donated by Domnall Mac Lochlainn, king of Cenél nEógain, under the auspices of Domnall, head of the church of Armagh.[115] The inscriptions enable the re-enshrinement to be dated to 1091×94. Such inscriptions were also important markers of royal piety, which

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and the annalist stated that he was detained at his court from 'Init to Cáisc', from 'Shrovetide to Easter', or possibly more precisely from the first Sunday in Lent: *AI* 1059.7. Cf. Gerald of Wales's remark that the Sunday after Easter was commonly called *clausus pascha*: *Expugnatio*, 108–9.

109 *Hypapante*, from Greek, translates literally as 'the meeting', otherwise known as the Presentation.

110 Sheehy, *Pontificia*, i, no. 11; C. McNeill (ed.), *Calendar of Archbishop Alen's Register, c. 1172–1534*, Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Extra Volume, 1949 (Dublin, 1950), 9.

111 The marytrology of Holy Trinity, Dublin, used the Purification, not *Hypapante*: *Book of Obits*, 62, 85; cf. above, p. 218, n. 97, n. 109.

112 Meyer, *Aislinge Meic Conglinne*, 114, 148 (H.3.18 version); cf. P. Ó Riain, *The Making of a Saint: Finbarr of Cork, 600–1200*, Irish Texts Society, Subsidiary Series, 5 (1997), 31, for the probable celebration of this feast on 25 July.

113 Cf. above, pp. 25–7.

114 Above, p. 26.

115 P. F. Micheli, 'The inscriptions on pre-Norman Irish reliquaries', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 96C (1996), 1–48 at 22–3.

was characterised everywhere in Christendom by the donation of costly objects. Shrines were made in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries for the *Soiscél Molaise* ('gospel-book of Molaise') of 1001×11, associated with the church of Devenish (co. Fermanagh);[116] for the so-called Stowe missal, associated with the church of Lorrha (co. Tipperary), the manufacture of which can be dated by its inscriptions to 1033×37;[117] for the psalter of Columba known as the 'Battler' (*Cathach*);[118] and for the gospel-book of St Cronán of Roscrea.[119] Among the earliest European arm reliquaries is that of St Lachtín of Donaghmore of 1118×21, the form and decoration of which has already been identified as reflecting overseas influence.[120] The early-twelfth-century triangular house-shaped shrine of St Manchán of Lemanaghan (co. Offaly), the largest surviving medieval Irish reliquary, still contains disarticulated bones that are believed to be those of the saint;[121] it also retains the four rings through which its two carrying poles would have been inserted when it was taken in procession on solemn liturgical occasions.[122] Other metalwork shrines stylistically of twelfth-century date include the bell-shrine known as the *Bearnán Cuileain* (found near Glankeen, co. Tipperary), and the *Breac Máedóic*, a house-shaped shrine, complete with leather carrying satchel, associated with the cult of St Máedóc in the church of Drumlane (co. Cavan).[123] Gerald of Wales was struck by the number of pastoral staffs made of gold, silver or bronze and curved at the upper ends that were accorded the status of relics.[124] He was referring to the insular crook-headed crosier, in contrast with the volute crosier that had become the type in near universal use in the Western church and which was adopted by Irish bishops in the course of the twelfth century. Gerald's remarks that the people of Ireland and Wales had great veneration for bells and pastoral staffs which had belonged to saints is borne out by surviving twelfth-century examples, most notably the crosier of Lismore (inside which were found a small box, a sliver of wood and a piece of cloth) and

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116 Ibid., 21–2; R. Ó Floinn, 'The soiscél of Molaisse', *Clogher Record*, 13 (1989), 51–63.

117 P. Ó Riain, 'The shrine of the Stowe missal redated', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 91C (1991), 285–95.

118 Micheli, 'Inscriptions on pre-Norman Irish reliquaries', 21–2.

119 Also known as the Book of Dimma, it is so named from its scribe. For Dimma's association with Cronán, see *Vitae SS Hib.*, ii, 24.

120 Above, p. 27.

121 Manchán died in 665: T. M. Charles-Edwards (ed.), *The Chronicle of Ireland*, 2 vols, Translated Texts for Historians, 44 (Liverpool, 2006), i, 665.5.

122 Illustration in R. Ó Floinn, *Irish Shrines and Reliquaries of the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 1994), 16. It may have been made by the same craftsman as the Cross of Cong.

123 Illustrations in Ó Floinn, *Irish Shrines*, 32; F. Henry, *Irish Art in the Romanesque Period, 1020–1170 A.D.* (London, 1970), plates 18, 31, 34, 35, 36, K. More recently, Ó Floinn has proposed a mid-eleventh-century date for the *Breac Máedóic* and Dublin as its place of manufacture: R. Ó Floinn, 'The foundation relics of Christ Church Cathedral and the origins of the diocese of Dublin' in S. Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin VII: Proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin Symposium, 2005* (Dublin, 2006)', 94.

124 O'Meara, 'Giraldus Cambrensis in Topographia Hibernie', 171; *Giraldi Opera*, v, 179; Gerald of Wales, *History and Topography*, 116.

the crosier of Clonmacnois.[125] Similarly, Gerald's description of the use of such items, in preference to the gospels, for the swearing of oaths is supported by annalistic entries, the most numerous of which refer to agreements made and treaties sworn in the presence of the head of the church of Armagh holding the *Bachall Ísu*, the staff believed to have been received by Patrick directly from heaven. In the charter of Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn, king of Cenél nEógain and high-king, in favour of the Cistercian abbey of Newry *ca* 1157, the list of witnesses is headed by Gilla Meic Liac, archbishop of Armagh, 'holding the *baculus Jesu* in his hand'.[126]

In common with Continental Europe, a number of Irish saints' corporeal remains were exhumed during the twelfth century and placed in newly commissioned shrines. In 1122 the remains of St Colmán of Lann (co. Westmeath) were found in the earth on Spy Wednesday, the Wednesday before Easter Sunday.[127] Given its discovery during Holy Week, it is likely that a dramatic ceremony was staged at a time when substantial numbers of worshippers would have been present. In 1162 the relics of Bishop Móenu (*ob.* 572)[128] and of Cummíne Fata (*ob.* 662)[129] were removed from the ground by the clergy of Clonfert and enclosed in a shrine, possibly to coincide with millennial celebrations of their deaths.[130] In 1166 the shrine of St Manchán of Mohill (co. Leitrim) was covered with 'an embroidering of gold … in as good a style as any relic was ever covered in Ireland' under the patronage of Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair, king of Connacht and newly acknowledged claimant to the high-kingship.[131] This was doubtless intended to emphasise the bountiful patronage that churches could expect to enjoy under Ruaidrí's high-kingship and so to enlist their support. In 1170 the remains of St Commán, patron of Roscommon, were removed from the ground *ad translationem* by Gilla Iarlaithe Ua Carmacáin, head of the church of Roscommon, and enclosed in a shrine wrought in gold and silver.[132] The Life of St Flannán of Killaloe recounted how after his death the fame of his sanctity attracted crowds to his tomb where, through his intercession, miracles took place. Thereupon, the prelates of the church and the king and nobles of the entire kingdom sought permission from the pope to disinter Flannán's body and have it placed in a shrine. Translation was the most public sign of recognition of a saint, and the suggestion that permission should be sought specifically from the pope

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125 R. Ó Floinn, 'Bishops, liturgy and reform: some archaeological and art historical evidence' in D. Bracken and D. Ó Riain-Raedel (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century: Reform and Renewal* (Dublin, 2006), 230–35.

126 Above, p. 117.

127 *AU²* 1122.2.

128 *AU²* 572.2, *CS, AT* 571.

129 *AU²* 662.1, *CS* 658, *AT*.

130 *AFM* 1162.

131 *AFM* 1166. This shrine is to be distinguished from that of St Manchán of Lemanaghan, above, p. 221. The death of Manchán of Máethail is recorded in 539: Charles-Edwards, *Chronicle of Ireland*, i, 539.4.

132 *AT, AFM* 1170. Commán's death is recorded in 747: *AU²* 747.12.

reflected contemporary developments, whereby the papacy was beginning to gain control over the formal process of canonisation.[133] A large quantity of silver and gold was contributed by the foremost men, which was then wrought into a beautifully crafted (*mira arte*) shrine, into which the bones of the saint were placed, the shrine then being positioned on the altar. At the same time the book of the gospels, the bell and the staff used by St Flannán were also covered in the purest gold.[134] None of those relics has survived, but the Life of St Flannán may have been newly redacted to coincide with those enshrinements. A *Schotten-kloster* martyrology at Regensburg contains an otherwise unattested commemoration on 26 August of the translation of the relics of Flannán.[135] Gerald of Wales recounted the discovery of saints' remains at Downpatrick in 1185/6.[136] Not only were the remains of St Patrick found, but for good measure also those of Brigit and Colum Cille, the two saints whose cults had achieved island-wide status alongside that of Patrick. The three were described as lying in a cave, with St Patrick in the middle and Brigit and Colum Cille on either side of him. The stage-managed effect is indicated by Gerald's account that John de Courcy 'presided' (*praesidente*) over the recovery of the three bodies. A late-twelfth-century calendar of St Werburgh's, Chester, commemorated the *inventio* ('discovery') as having occurred on 24 March – that is, within the octave of the feast of St Patrick (17 March). On 9 June 1202 a solemn *translatio* took place in the presence of the papal legate, Cardinal John of Salerno. This supports a detail in the Life of Flannán that endorsement was sought from the Roman pontiff for the translation of Flannán's relics. Following John of Salerno's liturgical rite, the feast of the *translatio* on 9 June replaced that of the *inventio*. Thus, the *translatio sancti Patricii, sancti Columbe, et sancte Brigide*, but not the *inventio*, is listed in the liturgical calendar of Holy Trinity Cathedral, Dublin.[137] Just as the papacy was acquiring control over canonisation of saints, so papal authentication of relics went hand in hand with that development; and the fourth Lateran Council (1215) was to decree that no newly discovered relics were to be venerated without papal authorisation.[138]

It was not only relics of Irish saints, however, that were revered. The relics of Peter and Paul at Armagh are first mentioned in the Book of the Angel, *ca* 675,[139]

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133 E. W. Kemp, 'Pope Alexander III and the canonization of saints', *Transactions of the Royal History Society*, Series 4, 27 (1945), 13–28.

134 *Vita Flannani*, 299–30.

135 *In Hybernia, translatio sancti Flannani episcopi et confessoris*: P. Ó Riain, *Feastdays of the Saints: A History of Irish Martyrologies*, Société des Bollandistes, Subsidia Hagiographica, 86 (Brussels, 2006), 232, n. 30, 240.

136 More detailed discussion with references in M. T. Flanagan, 'John de Courcy, the first Ulster plantation and Irish church men' in B. Smith (ed.), *Britain and Ireland 900–1300: Insular Responses to Medieval European Change* (Cambridge, 1999), 175–6.

137 *Book of Obits*, 66.

138 4 Lateran 62 in Tanner, *Decrees*, 263.

139 L. Bieler, *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, 10 (Dublin, 1979), 186–7.

and in 1033 the Annals of Ulster recorded that 'blood dripped from the shrine of Peter and Paul on Patrick's altar at Armagh in the presence of all observers'.[140] This dramatic event may have been occasioned by apocalyptic expectation associated with the millennium of Christ's passion (AD 33).[141] The twelfth-century *Breac Máedóic* ('the Speckled Shrine of Máedóc'),[142] was so called because it also contained relics of several other saints, including the martyrs Stephen, Laurence and Clement, the ankle of St Martin,[143] and hair from the Virgin Mary.[144] A possible reference to a relic of 'the Lord's cross' occurs as early as 868 in conjunction with the *Bachall Ísu* as supporting the high-king Áed Finlaith in righteous battle,[145] while the crusading movement was to result in many more relics from the East, especially of the True Cross, being brought to the West. In 1123 a relic of the True Cross was on circuit in Ireland and Toirdelbach Ua Conchobair, king of Connacht and high-king, 'gave a great tribute to it, and he asked for a portion of it to keep in Ireland, and it was granted to him, and it was enshrined by him at Roscommon'.[146] Now known as the Cross of Cong, its five inscriptions enable it to be dated to 1123×34.[147] One of the inscriptions explains *Hac cruce crux tegitur qua pasus conditor urbis* ('By this cross is covered the cross on which the creator of the world suffered'). It is likely that this portion of the True Cross had been brought to Ireland to raise funds for crusading activity, possibly under the auspices of the patriarch of Constantinople, or the Byzantine emperor, who is known to have given a relic of the True Cross to Queen Matilda (*ob.* 1118), wife of Henry I.[148] The cult of the True Cross is reflected in the dedication of Holy Cross Abbey founded by Domnall Ua Briain, king of Thomond, in the last quarter of the twelfth century.[149] This monastery may have possessed a relic of the True Cross from its inception and its dedication may even reflect a desire on the part of Domnall Ua Briain to rival the prestige that the Ua Conchobair kings derived from their association with the portion of the True Cross enshrined in the Cross of Cong. The undated Latin life of St Mac Nisse of Connor, which may have been redacted in the context of the selection of the church of Connor as an episcopal see

140 *AU²* 1033.9, *ALC*, *AFM*.

141 Rodolfus Glaber, *The Five Books of the Histories*, ed. J. France, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1989), 194–5; C. Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West from the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford, 2005), 140.

142 See Ó Floinn, *Irish Shrines*, 41; Henry, *Irish Art*, 117–19.

143 For pilgrimage to the shrine of Martin at Tours, see below, p. 229.

144 Cf. the Life of Mac Cairthinn of Clogher, which mentioned relics of the Virgin's hair and of the True Cross: Heist, *Vitae SS Hib.*, 344.

145 J. N. Radner (ed.), *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland* (Dublin, 1978), 135.

146 *AT*; cf. *CS* 1119=1123.

147 Micheli, 'Inscriptions on pre-Norman Irish reliquaries', 26–8; P. Ó Riain and G. Murray, 'The Cross of Cong: some recent discoveries', *Archaeology Ireland*, 19/1 (2005), 18–21.

148 G. A. J. Hodgett (ed.), *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity, Aldgate*, London Record Society, 7 (1971), 3, 230.

149 Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters*, 307–10.

at the synod of Ráith Bressail, depicts the saint visiting Jerusalem and the Holy Places and returning with relics of stone from the Holy Sepulchre, hair of the Virgin Mary, bones of St Thomas and vestments of the Apostles, as well as a chalice that had been on the altar of Jerusalem.[150]

Besides being used for oath-taking, relics were made available to the laity in other ways. According to the twelfth-century Life of Colmán of Lann, covenants were sworn on 'the gapped bell of Mochuta of Lann', which was also deployed to cure 'many diseases and plagues on men and cattle, namely by their washing from it, and by its being struck three times around them'.[151] The bell of Colmán of Lann known as *Finfáidech* ('The Sweet-Sounding One') was used for cures: filled with water, it was poured in 'three waves' on the head of Onchú son of Saran who had died, whereupon he was restored to life and was able to recount an out-of-body experience that had lasted for seven days in which he had gone past 'dreadful terrible hell towards heaven' – another testimony to the popularity of Otherworld visions at this time.[152] 'Three fills of cold water' poured out of the same bell was deemed effective in warding off an attacker, whether Irish or foreign;[153] and a circle marked out with Colmán's staff was efficacious in warding off raiding parties.[154] The *Cloc Timcill Arda Macha* ('The Bell of the Circuit of Armagh'), which was among the shrines lost by the Irish defeated in battle by John de Courcy at Down in 1177, doubtless derived its name from a function similar to that described in the undated Life of Berach where the saint's bell was carried daily around the monastery of Glendalough (*timcheall Glinne dá lacha*) in order to ensure its protection and to exorcise devils and attendant plagues.[155] The early-sixteenth-century Register of Clogher recorded that the church possessed a little bronze bell reputed to have been bestowed on it by Adomnán (*ob.* 704) which was rung every morning on a circuit of the monastery to avert disease and famine.[156]

Pilgrimage was a devotional practice common to both clergy and laity, and spanned all classes in society. Bishop Gillebertus of Limerick listed the blessing of pilgrims (*peregrinaturos*) before their departure as one of the routine duties of

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150 'Vita S. Macnissei episcopi Connerensis' in Heist, *Vitae SS Hib.*, 405; J. Mac Erlean, 'Synod of Ráith Breasail: boundaries of the dioceses of Ireland', *Archivium Hibernicum*, 3 (1914), 7, 13. Following episcopal ordination by St Patrick, Mac Nisse is depicted embarking on a journey *ad limina apostolorum*, where the saint was to receive many precious gifts 'on account of the poverty of Ireland'. The life of *noster patronus* was intended to be read to the *dilectissimi fratres* on the feast of the saint.

151 Meyer, *Betha Colmáin*, 26–7.

152 Ibid., 46–7. For the baptismal symbolism of three waves, see above, p. 207.

153 Ibid., 50–51.

154 Ibid., 64–5.

155 Plummer, *Bethada*, i, 29, ii, 28; C. Bourke, 'Medieval ecclesiastical metalwork from the diocese of Clogher' in H. A. Jefferies (ed.), *History of the Diocese of Clogher* (Dublin, 2005), 25–40 at 32.

156 Ibid.

the parish priest.[157] Such a blessing is described in the Vision of Mac Conglinne, perhaps not without an element of parody, as taking the form of a right-hand-wise circuit around the cemetery and a formal farewell by Mac Conglinne of his tutor, who circled a gospel-book around him.[158] By the twelfth century the practice of pilgrimage had a long history in Ireland.[159] Cogitosus's description of visitors to the church of Kildare on the feast of St Brigit in the late seventh century, in which some came 'for the abundant feasting, others for the healing of their afflictions, others to watch the pageant of the crowds, others with great gifts and offerings',[160] is a forceful reminder that pilgrimage could be a social occasion that brought men and women from different strata of society together and into which religious senti-ment did not necessarily enter very deeply. It would be unjust and superficial, however, to deny to medieval pilgrimage a strong element of devotional piety. There were long-established pilgrimages associated with Patrick and Brigit. Tírechán, writing in the late seventh century, described Patrick's forty-day sojourn on Croagh Patrick (co. Mayo) together with God's injunction that holy men should climb the mountain.[161] In 1113 thirty of those who were fasting on the mountain on the eve of the feast of St Patrick (17 March) were killed by a thunder-bolt, but it was only because of the tragedy of loss of life that these unfortunate pilgrims received annalistic notice.[162] Another pilgrimage location associated with Patrick was Station Island in Lough Derg (co. Donegal), as described by Gerald of Wales in his *History and Topography of Ireland* (1185×89) and in Jocelin of Furness's life of Patrick *ca* 1200 – who, however, mistakenly located it on Croagh Patrick.[163] That pilgrimage destination was brought to the attention of a wider European public by Henry of Saltrey's Treatise on the Purgatory of Saint Patrick of 1185×90, which recounted the experiences of an Irish knight, 'Owein', who was purged of his sins there.[164] Distinctive about Henry of Saltrey's account

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157 Fleming, *Gille*, 156–7. Cf. the identical Mass prayers *pro iter agentibus* in the Corpus, Drummond and Rosslyn missals: above, p. 67, n. 162.

158 Meyer, *Aisling Meic Conglinne*, 10–11; Jackson, *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne*, 4.

159 See P. Harbison, *Pilgrimage in Ireland: The Monuments and the People* (London, 1991).

160 Connolly and Picard, 'Cogitosus's Life of Brigit', 27.

161 Bieler, *The Patrician Texts*, 152–3.

162 *AU²* 1113.2, *ALC*. Diarmait Ua Longáin, *airchinnech/comarba* of Ard Patrick and steward of Munster, is named as among those who died: *CS* 1109=1113, *AFM, AI* 1113.2. The pilgrims may primarily have been clergy associated with Patrician churches. The date of the modern pilgrimage has since moved to the last Sunday in July.

163 An island in Ulster divided into two parts is described but not mentioned by name in the first recension of Gerald's *History and Topography*, 61. In the later version it is named as St Patrick's Purgatory: *Giraldi Opera*, v, 83. For the various identifications of the location, see M. Haren and Y. de Pontfarcy (eds), *The Medieval Pilgrimage to St Patrick's Purgatory, Lough Derg and the European Tradition* (Eniskillen, 1985), 15–17, 33–4.

164 Easting, *St Patrick's Purgatory*, 121–54, 236–54; J.-M. Picard and Y. de Pontfarcy, *Saint Patrick's Purgatory: A Twelfth-Century Tale of a Journey to the Otherworld* (Blackrock, Co. Dublin, 1985). Abbot Johannes Trithemius, who in 1506 was charged with the reform of the *Schottenkloster* of Würzburg, in recording the death in 1137 of David, *natione Scotus pluribus annis Herbipoli Scholarum Magister*, attributed to him authorship of a number of works,

is its specification of a precise geographical location on earth for an entrance to purgatory. Its wide dissemination was to result in numbers of pilgrims being attracted from abroad in the later Middle Ages.

Local and long-distance pilgrimages to varied destinations co-existed and might attract the same persons. From the early eleventh century long-distance pilgrimages to Rome and Jerusalem by lay individuals of high status receive more frequent notice in the Irish annals. Rodolfus Glaber identified an upsurge of pilgrims from all over the world to Jerusalem around the time of the millennium of Christ's passion.[165] The death-notice of Domnall Déisech, 'chief soul-friend of Ireland', who died at the church site of Taghmon (co. Wexford) in 1060, recorded that he 'had travelled all which Christ travelled on earth', indicating a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.[166] In 1080 Ua Cinn Fhaelad, king of Déise, 'went to Jerusalem'.[167] These pilgrims travelled to the Holy Land before the preaching by Pope Urban II of the First Crusade in November 1095, in line with a general upsurge that preceded the First Crusade.[168] Some decades earlier an Irish pilgrim to the Holy Land, Koloman (Colmán), was reputedly killed at Stockerau near Vienna – whether on his way to or returning from the Holy Land is not known – having been mistaken on account of his foreign clothes and language as a Bohemian, or Hungarian, spy; shortly thereafter a series of miracles associated with his remains began to occur which resulted in the development of a cult centred on the Benedictine monastery of Melk that endures to the present day.[169] The sole evidence for Koloman's journey derives from a late-eleventh-century hagiographical *Passio Cholomanni*, an account of his martyrdom. Yet the timing of his journey in 1012, as recorded in the Annals of Melk, coincided with an upsurge in overseas journeys by Irish pilgrims, while the geographical position of Stockerau on the recently opened overland route to the Holy Land through Hungary and Greece, which was safer than the sea route, also lends historicity to the account. As recorded by Rodulfus Glaber, Stephen, the first Christian King of Hungary

including *De purgatorio Patritii lib. 1*, which, it may be supposed, Trithemius had found in the library at Würzburg: H. Flachenecker, *Schottenklöster: Irische Benediktinerkonvente im Hochmittelalterlichen Deutschland*, Quellen und Forschungen aus der Gebiet der Geschichte, Neue Folge, 18 (Paderborn, 1995), 165, n. 63; G. Waterhouse, 'St. Patrick's purgatory: a German account', *Hermathena*, 20 (1930), 30–51, where the Latin text of Trithemius's account is given at 30–31. For the possibility that David was elected as bishop of Bangor (Gwynedd) in 1120, resigned *ca* 1137, and retired to Würzburg, see M. Brett, 'David, bishop of Bangor' in *ODNB*, xv, 282–4. See also below, p. 228, n. 173.

165 Rodulfus Glaber, *Five Books of the Histories*, 198–205.
166 *AI* 1060.5; cf. *AU*² 1060.4. For a pilgrim to Jerusalem who, prior to departure, sought a blessing from Malachy, see above, p. 67, n. 162.
167 *AI* 1080.3.
168 Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, 139–46.
169 D. Ó Riain-Raedel, 'Ireland and Austria in the Middle Ages: the role of the Irish monks in Austria' in P. Leifer and E. Segarra (eds), *Austro-Irish Links Through the Centuries*, Favorita Papers (Vienna, 2003), 11–40 at 27–32. I am very grateful to Dr Ó Riain-Raedel for providing me with a copy of this paper.

(1000–1038), 'made the road safe for everyone, welcomed as brothers all he saw, and gave them enormous gifts. This action led many people, nobles and commoners, to go to Jerusalem.'[170] Irish interest in the Holy Places is evidenced as early as 690 when Adomnán, abbot of Iona, wrote his *De Locis Sanctis*, even if that text was intended to contribute to biblical exegetical scholarship rather than to serve as a travel guide.[171] While it has been conventional to claim that the Irish showed a marked lack of enthusiasm for crusading activity,[172] it is nonetheless the case that the chronicler Ekkehard of Aura, writing around 1115, who himself went on crusade in 1101 and subsequently wrote an account of the First Crusade that was issued as a separate volume titled *Hierosolymita*, included men from Ireland among those who responded to Pope Urban's appeal.[173] In 1129, among the treasures stolen from the main altar at Clonmacnois, pride of place was accorded to the *Cairrecan Tempuill Solman*, 'The Little Rock of Solomon's Temple'.[174] It is possible that this was a relic which contained a piece of stone that may have been acquired by pilgrim travel to the Holy Land.[175] The donor of the stolen reliquary is named as Máel Sechnaill mac Domnaill, king of Tara. His death-notices in 1022 describe him as 'a tower of generosity' who received the last rites and died with the heads of the churches of Armagh, Clonmacnois and Kells 'standing beside him' and singing Masses, hymns, psalms and canticles for his soul.[176] This highlights his close associations with three important churches, and the enshrining of a stone from Solomon's temple would have enhanced the prestige not only of Clonmacnois but also of its royal donor. The fragments of exotic porphyry recovered through excavations at Armagh, Downpatrick and Dublin in contexts dating from the eleventh century onwards may have been

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170 Rodulfus Glaber, *Five Books of the Histories*, 96–7. Roger of Howden recorded that the first English pilgrim to use the overland route via Hungary was Ealdred, bishop of Worcester, in 1058: Stubbs, *Chronica*, i, 104.

171 T. O'Loughlin, 'The exegetical purpose of Adomnán's *De locis sanctis*', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 24 (1992), 37–53; idem, *Adomnán and the Holy Places: The Perceptions of an Insular Monk on the Locations of the Biblical Drama* (London, 2007).

172 W. L. Warren, 'The interpretation of twelfth century Irish history' in J. C. Beckett (ed.), *Historical Studies VII: Papers Read Before the Irish Conference of Historians* (London, 1969), 1–19 at 7. The second crusade is described as the gathering of a great army of Christians to Jerusalem in 1147 'to extirpate the power of Jews' in *AT*, *CS* 1147. In 1187 'the capture of the city of Jerusalem by the Saracens along with the Cross of the Lord' was noted in *ABoyle*, no. 372.

173 G. H. Pertz (ed.), 'Ekkehardi chronicon universale' in MGH, *Scriptores*, vi (Hanover, 1844), 213; *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, 5 vols (Paris, 1844–1895), v, 16. Ekkehard distinguished between *Scotia* and *Hibernia*. It was also Ekkehard who recorded that in 1110 David *Scotigena*, who presided over the cathedral school at Würzburg, was taken by the German emperor, Henry V, to Rome as historiographer so that he could write an account of the expedition: Pertz, 'Ekkehardi chronicon', vi, 243. David may have been the author of an account of St Patrick's Purgatory: above, p. 226, n. 164.

174 *AT*, *AFM* 1109, *CS* 1125=1129, *AClon*, 190.

175 C. Bourke, 'Cairrecan Tempuill Solman', *Peritia*, 16 (2002), 473–7.

176 *AU* 1022.3, *AT*, *AI* 1022.4, *ALC*, *AFM*, 1022; *AClon*, 171, *CS* 1020=1022.

brought back to Ireland by pilgrims returning from the Mediterranean world.[177] In 1118 Irish pilgrims recounted the destruction wrought in the Alps by an earthquake that razed many cities and killed their inhabitants;[178] the majority of annalistic notices recording pilgrim traffic relate to prominent named ecclesiastical or secular figures and the journey of these unnamed pilgrims would have gone unnoticed were it not for the dramatic news that they were able to impart of a natural disaster.

The mid-twelfth-century *Betha Coluim Cille*, which takes the form of a homily on pilgrimage, reflecting on the biblical injunction, 'Leave your country and your land, your kindred and your patrimony for my sake, and go into the country which I shall reveal to you (Genesis, 12:1)', depicts Colum Cille contemplating going to Rome and Jerusalem and actually visiting the tomb of St Martin at Tours, thereby adding a contemporary resonance to his reputation for penitential pilgrimage to Iona.[179] This must reflect the reality of the popularity of those destinations by the twelfth century. Veneration of St Martin in monastic circles had a long history in the Irish church,[180] but suggestive evidence of specifically lay pilgrimage to Tours is a miracle in *De Mirabilibus Hiberniae*, a poem on the miraculous signs and wonders of Ireland attributed to Bishop Gilla Pátraic of Dublin (*ob.* 1074). A pious Irish woman had the custom of offering alms to the poor on the feast of St Martin (11 November). Her son, on pilgrimage at Tours, had miraculously seen a vision of his mother's charitable acts: he was able to take the lid of the vessel that he saw her opening and bring it back to Ireland. She immediately recognised it as hers and asked him to explain how he came to have it in his possession, to which he replied that he had brought it back with him from Tours, where 'I saw you giving gifts in holy Martin's city with my very own eyes in the full light of day'. The exhortation is 'this wonder should be praised by all devout persons as a good example for long ages'.[181]

Pilgrimage might be undertaken voluntarily as an aspect of personal piety, but it could also be imposed as a penance for wrong-doing. The Life of St Flannán described how the saint foiled an attack of robbers by rooting them to the ground

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177 C. Lynn, 'Some fragments of exotic porphyry found in Ireland', *Journal of Irish Archaeology*, 2 (1984), 19–32. Less securely datable to an eleventh- or twelfth-century context are relics of the True Cross, 'of the tomb of Christ', of Mary's hair and of the apostles that were contained in the *Domnach Airgid* (literally, 'The Silver Church'), a box-shaped shrine of the church of Clogher (co. Tyrone), the earliest portions of which date to the ninth or tenth centuries: C. Bourke, 'Medieval ecclesiastical metalwork', 34–7l; idem, 'The Domnach Airgid in 2006', *Clogher Record*, 19 (2006), 31–42.

178 *AU²* 1118.7; cf. *ALC.* The pilgrimage destination is not named. The death of Pope Paschal is also recorded: *AU* 1118.4, *ALC.*

179 M. Herbert, *Iona, Kells and Derry: The History and Hagiography of a Monastic* Familia (Oxford, 1988), 218, 231, 248, 256.

180 M. Richter, *Ireland and her Neighbours in the Seventh Century* (Dublin, 1999), 225–31.

181 A. Gwynn, (ed.), *The Writings of Bishop Patrick (1074–1084)*, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, 1 (Dublin, 1955), 64–7. Cf. below, p. 238, n. 230.

as if fastened with chains, whereupon they acknowledged their sins and promised to perform whatever penance Flannán might impose on them. The saint ordered them to visit Rome and receive absolution from the pope in person.[182] The chronicler, Marianus Scottus, otherwise Máel Brigte, in recording the death in 1043 of Anmchad, an *inclusus* at Fulda, described him as a former monk of Inis Celtra (Holy Island in Lough Derg, co. Galway) who had been sent into penitential exile by his *senior*, Corcrán, not only from the island of Inis Celtra but even from Ireland, for having supplied drink to some brethren without permission; and Máel Brigte himself may have been sent abroad from the monastery of Movilla (co. Down) by his superior, Tigernach, for some misdemeanour that he did not detail.[183]

Long-distance pilgrims required infrastructural support such as accommodation and also, on occasion, burial. There were hospices for the reception of Irish pilgrims undertaking the journey to Rome in the twelfth century at Vercelli[184] and Piacenza[185] – the latter run by the monks of Bobbio – which were situated on the *Via Francigena* to Rome, while in Rome itself there was a monastery of Irish monks dedicated to the Trinity, which would also have given succour to Irish pilgrims.[186] The existence of such hospices implies a steady stream of pilgrims.

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182 *Vita Flannani*, 295.

183 G. Waitz (ed.), 'Mariani Scotti Chronicon' in MGH, *Scriptores*, v (Hanover, 1844), 557 (1065=1043); Migne, *PL*, cxlvii, 785A; J. Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland: An Introduction and Guide* (New York, 1929), 615. The scribe of a substantial section of Codex Palatino-Vaticanus 830, a contemporary manuscript of Marianus's chronicle, was also under a penitential sentence abroad: B. MacCarthy, *The Codex Palatino-Vaticanus, No. 830 (Texts, Translations and Indices)* Royal Irish Academy Todd Lecture Series, 3 (Dublin, 1892), 15–16.

184 C. D. Fonsega, 'Canoniche e ospedali' in *Atti del Primo Congresso Europeo di Storia Ospitaliera, 6–12 Giugno 1960* (Reggio Emilia, 1962), 482–99 at 488; A. M. Tomassini, *Irish Saints in Italy* (London, 1937), 93, 94, 246, where its foundation is dated to around 1140. See also G. Frova, *Gualae Bicherii Presbyteri Cardinalis S. Martini in Montibus Vita et Gesta Collecta a Philadelfo Libico* (Milan, 1767), 132. Guala was a native of Vercelli and carried out a major visitation of the city's churches as a papal commissioner in November 1224. The results of his mission were confirmed in a papal letter issued by Pope Honorius and included reforms effected at the *Hospitale Scottorum* which ministered to *pauperes clerici et alii indigentes, et de hiis quae superfuerunt annuatim, salva in omnibus provisione Scotorum et Hibernorum, et aliorum pauperum, ad quorum receptionem idem hospitale specialiter noscitur institutum* (I owe the reference for Frova's work to Nicholas Vincent's edition of *Letters and Charters of Cardinal Guala Bichierri, Papal Legate in England, 1216–1218*, Canterbury and York Society, 83 (Woodbridge, 1996), xliii, 84).

185 A. G. Bergamaschi, 'L'attivita ospitaliera del monastero di S. Colombano in Bobbio nell'alto medioevo con particolare reguardo all assistenza dei pellegrini irlandesi in Italia' in Centro Italiano di Storia Ospitaliera, *Atti del Primo Congresso Europeo di Storia Ospitaliera* (Reggio Emilia, 1962), 120–28; M. T. Flanagan, 'Irish church reform in the twelfth century and Áed Ua Cáellaide, bishop of Louth: an Italian dimension' in M. Richter and J.-M. Picard (eds), *Ogma: Essays in Celtic Studies in Honour of Próinséas Ní Chatháin* (Dublin, 2002), 98–100.

186 A. Wilmart, 'La Trinité des Scots à Rome et les notes du Vat. Lat. 378', *Revue Bénédictine*, 41 (1929), 218–30; idem, 'Finian parmi les moines romains de la Trinité des Scots', *Revue Bénédictine*, 44 (1932), 359–61; A. Gwynn, 'Ireland and the continent in the eleventh century',

That the death from pestilence in 1095 of Eógan, head of the monks of the Irish in Rome, is recorded in the Annals of Inisfallen[187] is itself a reflection of traffic between Ireland and Rome. The Arrouaisian canons at Wissant, the port of disembarkation for pilgrims from the British Isles, had established a cemetery by 1177 'for Scots, Irish, and other pilgrims'.[188] High-status casualties from pilgrimage journeys are noted in the annals. In 1024 Fachtna, *fer léigind* of Clonmacnois and *airchinnech* of Int Ednén, died on pilgrimage in Rome,[189] while in 1027 Máel Doraid Ua Ruanaid, king of Cenél Conaill, who had left Ireland in 1026, died on pilgrimage in Rome;[190] in 1034 Amlaíb son of Sitric 'was killed by the Saxons on his way to Rome';[191] in 1038 Cairpre Ua Coimgilláin, successor of Cainnech, died in Rome;[192] and in 1050 Laidcnén, son of Mailán Ua Leócháin, king of Gailenga, and his queen, made the pilgrimage to Rome, but died in Britain on their return journey.[193] The safe return from Rome of Flaithbertach Ua Néill is recorded in 1031.[194] Muiredach mac Robertaig, otherwise known as Marianus Scottus, set out in 1067 with two companions for Rome, though he never actually reached it, remaining at Regensburg where he died in 1088.[195] Donnchad, son of Brian Bóruma, deposed king of Munster, died in exile in Rome in 1064.[196] In 1134 Malachy's teacher, Imar Ua hÁedacáin, died in Rome,[197] and in 1175 Conchobar mac Meic Concaille, newly elected archbishop of Armagh, having gone to Rome to collect his pallium, died on his return journey, his remains now resting in the church of St-Pierre-de-Lémenc in Chambéry in Savoie, where he is venerated as a saint under the name of Concors.[198] On arrival in Rome Colmán of Lann, according to his hagiographer, gave thanks for completing the journey safely 'without pestilence, without the

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Irish Historical Studies, 7 (1953), 193–216 at 199–200; reprinted in Gwynn, *Irish Church*, 343–49 at 38–9. Cf. below, n. 196.

187 *AI* 1095.13.

188 Above, p. 152.

189 *AFM* 1024, *AClon*, 174.

190 *AU²* 1026.5, *AFM* 1126, 1127, *CS* 1024, 1025=1026, 1027.

191 *AU²* 1034.2.

192 *AFM* 1038.

193 See above, p. 194.

194 *AU²* 1030.4, 1031.1, *CS* 1028=1030, 1029=1031, *ALC*, *AFM* 1030.

195 Kenney, *Sources*, 616–19.

196 *AI* 1064.5, *AU²* 1064.5, *ALC*, *CS*, *AT*, *AFM* and *AClon*, 179, recorded that he died in the monastery of St Stephen (Santo Stefano Rotondo on the Coelian Hill, where a non-contemporary plaque commemorates his burial). The Irish community of Sancta Trinitas Scottorum (above, n. 186) was located close to Santo Stefano Rotondo. According to the chronicler Marianus Scottus, Echmarcach, *rex Innarenn* – that is, king of Na Renna or the Isles – also died in Rome, with the implication that he had gone there in the company of Donnchad: Waitz, 'Mariani Scotti chronicon', 559 (1087=1065); Migne, *PL*, cxlvii, 782B. Cf. *AU²* 1064.9, *ALC*, where Echmarcach is styled 'king of the Foreigners'; *AI* 1064.7, where he is styled 'Ragnall's son, king of the Foreigners'. Echmarcach had been deposed from the kingship of Dublin in 1052.

197 Above, p. 121.

198 *AU*, *AFM* 1175, *ABoyle*, no. 361; T. Ó Fiaich, *Géilscrínte i gCéin* (Dublin, 1960), 42, 65–6.

death of a single man'.[199] On his return, he landed at the 'port of Dublin', where the volume of pilgrim traffic was such by 1216 that a hospice providing food and beds for the needs of pilgrims, especially those travelling to the shrine of St James the Apostle at Compostela, had been set up to accommodate them while waiting for suitable wind and weather.[200]

Pilgrims returned with religious objects and relics. It has been plausibly suggested that Sitric son of Amlaíb, king of Dublin, who travelled to Rome in 1028 in the company of Flannacán Ua Cellaig, king of Brega,[201] is likely to have visited Cologne, where he may have acquired a set of relics for the cathedral church of Holy Trinity, Dublin.[202] The Life of Colmán of Lann described how soil from Rome was brought back to Ireland and spread on Irish graves.[203] On arrival in Rome Colmán pronounced 'I shall not leave Rome until I have performed thirty fasts, so that I may obtain Heaven for myself and for everyone who shall be in my cemetery'; and Colmán Elo, who accompanied him, added 'After that, the soil of Peter's and Paul's tombs and the soil of Gregory's grave shall be carried by us in loads to Ireland' … 'and they collected the soil of Peter's tomb, and of the tomb of every other apostle, and of every great saint that is in Rome, and took it with them to Ireland'. The soil was scattered in the cemetery at Lann 'so that it is a burial in the soil of Rome for each one who has been buried there from that time onward'.[204]

Spiritual direction regarding pilgrimage is offered by admonitions in *Betha Coluim Chille*. Prospective pilgrims were warned that it was of scant advantage to forsake one's homeland in body only and without detachment of mind from sins and vices, 'for it is not by track of feet nor by physical movement that one draws near to God, but by practice of good habits and virtues'.[205] A pilgrimage undertaken in the wrong spirit would not be a source of benefit to the soul, only fruitless physical exertion. This was not, of course, a very original observation, since almost from the beginnings of the practice of pilgrimage there had been such warnings. St Jerome, himself a notable pilgrim, had cautioned that 'it is praiseworthy not to have been in Jerusalem, but to have lived well for [the heavenly] Jerusalem', a sentiment often quoted by subsequent critics of pilgrimages.[206] Pilgrimage by monks, in particular, might conflict with vows of stability.

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199 Meyer, *Betha Colmáin*, 80–81.
200 The hospital was founded with revenue made available by the union of the dioceses of Dublin and Glendalough which was confirmed by Pope Innocent III in 1216. It was to pay two bezants at Michaelmas to the pilgrim hospice of the Holy Spirit established at Rome by Innocent III: McNeill, *Calendar of Archbishop Alen's Register*, 55.
201 *AU*² 1028.7, *AI* 1028.5, *CS* 1026=1028, *ALC*, *AFM* 1028.
202 Above, p. 9.
203 Meyer, *Betha Colmáin*, 78–81.
204 Ibid., 84–5.
205 Herbert, *Iona*, 220, 249.
206 I. Hilberg (ed.), *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae Pars 1*, 2nd edn, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 54 (Vienna, 1996), 529.

An anonymous mid-ninth-century Irishman had penned the verse 'To go to Rome, much labour, little profit: you will not find the King whom you seek unless you bring Him with you.'[207] An exhortation by *Dermatius natione Hyberniensis*, precisely dated by its author to 1117 and delivered apparently on the eve of his own departure for Jerusalem, urged those *charissimi*, probably religious in a monastery on the Continent, possibly at Liège, whom he was leaving behind, to forsake Babylon in order to go to, or to return to, Jerusalem, explaining that by Babylon he meant the world, and by Jerusalem he meant the heavenly kingdom.[208] Dermatius alluded to various extreme natural phenomena of thunder and lightning and destruction of cities in 1117, possibly an allusion to the same events that had been reported by returning Irish pilgrims in 1118. Although he was about to embark on a journey to Jerusalem for which he had apparently received support from Raimbald of Liège, his purpose was to assure the brethren who remained behind that they were equally able to travel to the spiritual Jerusalem.[209]

Alongside long-established cults of Irish saints associated with their church foundations or objects that they were reputed to have owned, such as books, bells and crosiers, was added the growth of more universal cults, evident by an increase in dedications to the Virgin Mary and the Holy Trinity. While earlier devotion to saints had focused on corporeal and associative relics, in line with developments elsewhere in Europe, there was a shift towards a piety focused on images and statues. Veneration of the suffering crucified Christ is evidenced in the miraculous speaking crucifix at Holy Trinity Cathedral, Dublin. This particular crucifix is not mentioned among those relics that were re-enshrined during the episcopate of Bishop Gréne (1121–61), suggesting that its veneration post-dated 1161.[210] By the 1170s the crucifix, with its 'very expressive figure' of Christ, was on display in the cathedral, on the testimony of Gerald of Wales, who recorded four miracles associated with it, demonstrating the respect in which it was held by inhabitants of Dublin.[211] The first occurred before the advent of the

207 This is a marginal insertion in Codex Boernerianus, Dresden A. 145b, fo. 23, a copy of the Pauline epistles: Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, ii, 296. For another translation, see R. Flower, *The Irish Tradition* (Oxford, 1947), 39–40.

208 Kenney, *Sources*, 619; text in Migne, *PL*, clv, 486–90. According to William of Malmesbury Pope Calixtus encouraged pilgrims to go to St Davids rather than Rome, promising that those who went twice would gain the same privileges and blessings as those who went once to Rome: R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom (eds), *William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, 2 vols, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1998–9), i, 778–81.

209 For another twelfth-century connection with Liège, see above, p. 8, n. 5.

210 *Book of Obits*, 141; above, p. 93, n. 5. A relic of the True Cross is listed among those enshrined by Gréne. The speaking crucifix is listed in the sixteenth-century relic-list.

211 Detailed references in M. T. Flanagan, 'Devotional images and their uses in the twelfth-century Irish church: the crucifix of Holy Trinity, Dublin, and Archbishop John Cumin' in H. B. Clarke and J. R. S. Phillips (eds), *Ireland, England and the Continent in the Middle Ages and Beyond: Essays in Memory of a Turbulent Friar, F. X. Martin, O.S.A.* (Dublin, 2006), 67–87.

English in Ireland (that is, no later than 1167): a certain citizen had invoked the cross as surety for a contract and when one of the contracting parties denied the agreement and steadfastly refused to return the money which the other had advanced to him, the citizens, 'more in irony than for any serious reason', went to the church to hear what the cross would say; and the cross, being called to witness, gave testimony to the truth.[212] The crucifix figured in a yet more dramatic event in 1197 reported by the Anglo-Norman chronicler Roger of Howden, namely the celebration of a liturgical *clamor* by John Cumin, archbishop of Dublin (1181–1212). Cumin had suffered 'great injuries' at the hands of Hamo de Valognes, the principal agent of John, lord of Ireland and count of Mortain, who encroached on possessions of the see of Dublin. The archbishop sought redress first from John and then from John's brother and overlord, King Richard I, but, failing to gain satisfaction from either of them, Cumin elected to go into self-imposed exile. Prior to his departure, however, the archbishop excommunicated the king's officers and laid an interdict on his archdiocese. He also ordered that 'the crosses and images of the cathedral church be placed on the floor and surrounded with thorns so that those malefactors would be stricken with fear and restrained from their intention to violate the property of the church'. There then occurred a miracle, hitherto unheard of:

> There was in the cathedral-church of Dublin a certain cross on which a rather expressive figure of Christ was carved (*incisa*): all the Irish, and other people as well, held this cross in the greatest veneration. Now, while this image of the crucified one lay prostrate on the floor surrounded by thorns, it went into agony on the sixth day. Its face reddened vehemently as if it were close to a roaring fire, and it perspired freely. Drops fell from its eyes as if it were weeping.[213]

Even more remarkably, a mixture of blood and water poured from the right side of the breast of the figure. The clergy of the church collected this liquid and sent word to the archbishop 'so that this matter could be mentioned to our lord, the pope'. The details of Roger's account, the ritual humiliation of the crucifix and its surrounding by thorns, indicate that a *magnus clamor* had been celebrated. This was a liturgical ceremony centred on the theme of tribulation, conducted according to a prescribed rite that followed well-established directions and formulae, which could be performed by a church under attack from lay malefactors.

Roger of Howden's account of the events of 1197 is unique to him. It is possible that he acquired knowledge of it at the papal curia, perhaps from a written submission that was prepared for forwarding to the pope which Roger was able to describe as having been authenticated with the seal of venerable men:

212 O'Meara, 'Giraldus Cambrensis in Topographia Hibernie', 152–3; *Giraldi Opera*, 128–9; Gerald of Wales, *History and Topography*, 85–6.
213 Stubbs, *Chronica*, iv, 29–30.

> These, the ministers of the church collected, and sent a deputation
> after John Cumin, the archbishop, informing him of the happening of
> this event, under the testimony of the seals of venerable men, for the
> purpose of its being mentioned to our lord, the pope.[214]

Roger is known to have visited the papal curia on behalf of King Richard during
1197–8 and he may have met Dublin clergy, and possibly even John Cumin
himself, the latter either there or at King Richard I's court in Normandy. This
would account for the circumstantial detail with which he was able to describe
the crucifix and its response. His vivid remarks about the Irish bishops' lack of
support for their 'brother bishop', and their being unmindful of the proverb 'Your
own property is at stake when your neighbour's party wall is on fire', and how
they proceeded to act like rams without horns who fled in the face of the pursuer,
may have derived from a personal conversation with John Cumin. It is possible
that the clergy of Holy Trinity were seeking papal authentication of the status of
their crucifix as a relic.[215]

John Cumin's ritual humiliation of the Holy Trinity crucifix is the only
certainly identified instance of the celebration of a liturgical *clamor* in
twelfth-century Ireland. Its deployment by Cumin has been described as 'an
import, like the archbishop himself' that had 'no roots in the indigenous
culture'.[216] Cumin, however, could not have instigated the *clamor* without the
active participation of his cathedral clergy, at least a number of whom may be
presumed to have been of Irish origin, and, as Roger of Howden's account made
plain, they continued the ritual humiliation of the crucifix after the archbishop
had gone into exile, keeping a watchful eye on its responses and remaining in
touch with their archbishop. In any case, there is evidence that ritual humiliation
of relics and statues was practised in Ireland independently of any Anglo-
Norman importation. In an account of an Anglo-Norman incursion into Connacht
in 1177 Gerald of Wales described how the people of Connacht set fire to their
cities and settlements in all parts of the province and burnt all the provisions that
they could not conceal in underground vaults (*ypogeis subterraneis*, presumably
souterrains), and also burned down the churches. Further, to harm the Anglo-
Normans 'and call down God's vengeance upon them, they laid all the crosses
and images of the saints with their faces to the ground all over the plains where
the enemy would see them'.[217] This indicates a ritual humiliation of religious
images at a time of tribulation and in a manner not dissimilar to Cumin's *clamor*
ceremony. Although the *clamor* is attested primarily in Benedictine sources from
Francia, it is noteworthy that there is evidence for knowledge of the liturgical

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214 Ibid.
215 Cf. above, pp. 222–3.
216 L. K. Little, *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France* (Ithaca, NY,
     1993), 124.
217 *Expugnatio*, 182–3.

clamor in the eleventh-century Irish Benedictine community of Holy Trinity in Rome and in the *Schottenkloster* at Vienna, founded in 1155, which also followed the Benedictine rule.[218] Irish communities abroad, therefore, were familiar with the *clamor*, and probably not only from Continental experience but also because a similar ritual was known in the Irish church. An elaborate *clamor* liturgy is found in a Canterbury pontifical that is believed to have been Archbishop Anselm's own and may even have been used by him for the first time when he consecrated Máel Ísu (Malchus) Ua hAinmire as bishop of Waterford in 1096, so that it is possible that Holy Trinity, Dublin, might have acquired a *clamor* rite via books sent from Canterbury.[219] The existence of a Benedictine community at Holy Trinity, Dublin, is implied by Anselm when he remonstrated with Bishop Samuel Ua hAingliu for his expulsion of monks.[220] Certainly, books had been supplied to Bishop Donngus Ua hAingliu of Dublin by Anselm's predecessor, Lanfranc.[221] The only description of the enactment of a *clamor* in an English context appears to be that in the Life of St Modwenna written by Geoffrey, abbot (1113–50) of the Benedictine monastery of Burton upon Trent, where, in the course of a dispute with Roger of Montgomery *ca* 1090, the abbot and his monks

> entered the church barefoot and groaning, and, in tears, set down on the ground the shrine of the blessed virgin containing her most holy bones. In unison they addressed a desperate appeal to the Lord, beseeching His boundless power with all their hearts that He should deign to help His servants in His goodness, if that were His will, and that He should make known with a manifest miracle His aid to those who were struggling in such difficulty.[222]

Needless to say, a miracle through the merit of the Virgin and the power of God ensued, and the enemies of the monks were vanquished.

Gerald commented on the vindictiveness of Irish saints, his observation being

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218 Flanagan, 'Devotional images', 83.

219 The manuscript, which was not in Ireland in the medieval period, was acquired by Trinity College, Dublin (MS 98, formerly B.3.6). The *clamor* (fos 155r–v), has the rubric *Clamor in ecclesia sic fiat*. It contains a remarkably extended version of the prayer *In spiritu humilitatis*, preceded by incipits of five psalms and followed by citations to other prayers, the last two written in full: K. D. Hartzell, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1200 Containing Music* (Woodbridge, 2006), 152. For the view that the pontifical may have been used by Anselm for the consecration of Máel Ísu, see M. Gullick and R. W. Pfaff, 'The Dublin pontifical (TCD 98 [B.3.6]: Saint Anselm's?', *Scriptorium*, 55 (2001), 284–94 at 94 n. 29. I owe these references to the kindness of Dr Frank Lawrence, School of Music, University College, Dublin.

220 Above, p. 144.

221 Above, p. 142.

222 Geoffrey of Burton, *Life and Miracles of St Modwenna*, ed. R. Bartlett, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 2002), 194–5. That Modwenna was believed to be of Irish origin and that Geoffrey's Life drew on Irish material is in this context no more than a coincidence.

based at least in part on his unacknowledged reading of Irish hagiographical texts that he deployed for Book II of his *History and Topography of Ireland*; and, certainly, Irish hagiography abounds in stories of saints uttering righteous maledictions and wreaking vengeance on their opponents, a tradition already well developed in Tírechán's and Muirchú's lives of Patrick, *ca* 690, where it derives from the Old Testament tradition of malediction, Patrick being cast in the role of Moses. The ritual chanting of maledictory psalms is attested in a range of Irish sources. Most detailed is the early-ninth-century recension of the *Lex Innocentium*, or *Cáin Adomnáin*, promulgated in 697 by Adomnán, abbot of Iona, which included a sanction clause invoking blessings on those who upheld its provisions and malediction for those who did not. A number of the eleventh- and twelfth-century notices inserted into the gospel-book of Kells include maledictions on those who would violate their provisions and benedictions for those who would abide by them. Annal notices regularly refer to the 'malediction of the clergy', which may signify a formal liturgical rite. In 1117, for example, when recording the killing of Máel Brigte son of Rónán, head of the church of Kells, by Áed Ua Ruairc, king of Bréifne, the annalist cited psalm 33:17, 'The face of the Lord be against those committing these wickednesses, that He may wipe out their memory from the earth.'[223] In 1162, when a new ecclesiastical enclosure was demarcated at Derry, 'malediction was pronounced on any person who should come over it for ever'.[224] A solemn liturgical procession of the boundary may be assumed.

While the utterance of maledictions and a *clamor* liturgy were linked, the *clamor* provided greater possibilities for symbolic gesture and escalation. A curse was in itself an absolute act, calling on God to damn an individual, whereas the *clamor* ceremony could be enacted in a variety of ways depending on the gravity of the situation. It could be accompanied by a temporary humiliation of sacred images during the liturgy of the *clamor* or, in more extreme cases, the humiliation might continue after the liturgical ceremony and until the dispute had been settled. There is no evidence for how long the crucifix of Holy Trinity, Dublin, and other images may have remained on the ground in 1197, nor indeed how long the accompanying interdict operated in the diocese of Dublin, but it certainly was for a period of time after John Cumin's departure sufficient to enable messengers to be sent to him reporting on the responses of the crucifix. Another miracle involving a crucifix occurred at Lismore in 1166 in the presence of Gregorius, abbot of Regensburg, as recorded in the version of the Life of Flannán preserved in the Great Austrian Legendary.[225]

Specific liturgical ceremonies were associated with the public display and procession of the insignia and relics of Irish saints, one of the earliest attestations

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223 *AU²* 1117.3. Psalm 33 was not, however, one of the usual maledictory psalms.
224 *AU*, *AFM* 1162.
225 Above, pp. 116, 180, n. 55.

being that of the late-seventh-century 'Book of the Angel (*Liber Angeli*)' which described an order of psalms for the ceremonial procession every Sunday at Armagh to the southern basilica in which the relics were kept.[226] According to Bernard's Life of Malachy, while he was bishop of Armagh a pestilence broke out in the city and, when Malachy led the clergy and people outside with relics of the saints, the pestilence subsided.[227] Bernard attributed this more to Malachy's prayers than to the efficacy of the relics, which suggests that in this particular detail he drew on material supplied to him from Ireland, but chose to add his own emphasis. In 1155, when the church of Clonmacnois was plundered by men from Bregmaine who had brought baskets with them in which they carried away the pigs of the clergy, 'the clergy pursued them with their shrine … but they were not obeyed'. Although the deployment of relics did not work instantly, on the following day the Bregmaine sustained a defeat 'in consequence of disobeying Ciarán's clergy'.[228]

Alms-giving and fasting were aspects of religious practice which may be assumed to have been so routinely expected of the laity that they were mentioned only in exceptional circumstances. In 1095 a very cold January, during which men, cattle and birds perished, was followed by a hot summer and a severe outbreak of pestilence which lasted from August until the following May; the assessment of one annalist was that up to a quarter of the population perished.[229] The trauma of 1095 was such that the year 1096 in the Annals of Tigernach began with *exit malus annus et veniat bonus annus*, .i. *bliadan na feli Eoin* ('the bad year expired and may a good year come, that is, the year of the feast of St John'). That year was a leap year in which the feast of the beheading of St John the Baptist (29 August) fell on a Friday, the same day as Christ's crucifixion, and this appears to have generated a widespread panic that may have been fuelled not only by the sustained experience of disease but also by the imminent approach of the end of the century. In response to fears of further pestilence, many alms and offerings were made to God and lands granted to churches and clergy by kings and lords. Not only that, but the head of the church of Armagh, in co-operation with the clergy of Ireland, commanded all to observe an abstinence of three days from Wednesday to Sunday each month, and a fast of one meal per day until the end of the year, excepting Sundays and solemn feasts; 'and the kings of Ireland gave freedom to many churches that were in difficulty'.[230] As *Betha Coluim Cille* explained, there were three ways by which people were summoned to knowledge

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226 Bieler, *The Patrician Texts*, 190–91.
227 *Vita Malachiae*, 337–8; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 46.
228 *AFM*.
229 *AU²* 1095.8, *AI* 1095.13, *AFM*, *ALC*, where this year was described as a 'mortal year'; *CS* 1091=1095, where this year was described as 'the year of the heat' in which countless numbers died.
230 *AU²* 1096.3, *ALC*, *AFM*, *CS* 1092=1096, *AClon*, 196–7. Cf. the notice of a grant that had been made to the Céli Dé at Kells 'in order to cure the pestilence'; and another transaction dated to 'the feast of St Martin in the year in which the cattle and pigs of Ireland perished': G. Mac

and fellowship of Christ: first, they might be inspired by God to do so, summoning them by divine grace; secondly, they might be called by human agency through holy preachers who expounded the sacred scripture; thirdly, they might turn to God out of necessity:

> People are summoned in a third way, through constraint, that is when they are impelled to serve God by reason of troubles and deadly dangers, or through being deprived of their accustomed temporal prosperity, like the people of Israel, who often reverted to the Lord from adoration of idols and images, when compelled by the troubles and hardships they suffered. … When the people of Israel experienced tribulations and great perils, they prayed and petitioned the Lord to free them from those hardships.

A text with the Latin incipit 'The Vision seen by Adomnán' has been plausibly associated with the panic of 1096. It prophesied that, unless the men of Ireland repented, they would be destroyed by a plague of fire which would ignite on the feast of St John's decollation, but that it could be stayed by *devota poenitentia* ('devout penance').[231] Their crimes were described more specifically as 'wounding and theft, and adultery, and parricide, and manslaughter, and the destruction of churches and clerics, covetousness and perjury, lies and false judgement, and destruction of God's church, wizardry and heathenism'. The remedies advocated were a three-day fast every three months, that every church should have two ordained men to administer baptism and communion and to sing requiems, that young boys be sent to study, that Sunday should be observed as the Lord's day, and that 'Christ's cross be watched in every house'.[232] The saints who would protect the Irish were named as Patrick, the apostle Peter, the Virgin Mary and St Michael. The four periods of fast every three months are detailed as the first Friday after the beginning of Advent, the Wednesday of the beginning of Lent, the Wednesday after Pentecost and the Wednesday after the beginning of autumn. Various Old Testament examples of the efficacy of fasting are then listed, and the text ends with the reiteration that 'fasting is always an indestructible rampart against destruction'.[233] The Vision may be read as the basis of sermons preached on the need for repentance and the value of fasting. To the 1096 panic was added an apocryphal belief, attested in a range of vernacular sources from the tenth century onwards, that an Irish druid, Mog Ruith, who had

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Niocaill, 'The Irish "charters" ' in F. O'Mahony (ed.), *The Book of Kells* (Aldershot, 1994), 155, 162–3. Both most probably relate to the murrain of 1133: *ALC*, *AFM*, *CS* 1129=1133.

231 Kenney, *Sources*, 753; W. Stokes, 'Adamnan's second vision', *Revue Celtique*, 12 (1891), 420–43 at 422. Modern scholars have termed it 'the second vision' because it is the second attributed to Adomnán in the *Leabhar Breac* manuscript. For Adomnán's first vision, which was also experienced on a feast of John the Baptist, 24 June, see above, p. 30.

232 Stokes, 'Adamnan's second vision' 428–9.

233 Ibid., 438–9.

been trained by none other than Simon Magus, had been implicated in the death of John the Baptist and that the Irish therefore carried a particular guilt.[234] John the Baptist, who had prophesied and prepared for the coming of Jesus, had died at the hands of an Irishman and the Irish people would now have to pay for that crime. The destruction of the men of Ireland was envisaged as occurring through a fire – to which the name, 'Broom out of Fanad' was given – that would sweep through Ireland and destroy its population. In twelfth-century *scholia* attached to the feast of the beheading of St John in the Martyrology of Oengus the Irish saints Ailerán of Clonard, Colum Cille and Moling are said to have prophesied the coming of the 'Broom out of Fanad', 'a fierce dragon that will burn every one it can, without communion, without Mass', as a punishment for the killing of John the Baptist.[235] In the summer and autumn of 1109 there was heavy rain and bad weather which again induced 'fasts and abstinence and alms given to God that it might be dispelled'.[236] Such devotional collective fasts, involving both clergy and laity, were additional to disciplinary fasts imposed by way of penance.

Few examples of the ways in which the teaching disseminated by the church was appropriated and practised by laity may be recovered. The twelfth-century life of Colmán of Lann contains an invocation for the protection of flocks of sheep from wolves. Recited around a flock every morning and evening, the sheep would be kept safe: 'My sheep, may they be in the possession of the one and only, in the possession of Colmán son of Lúachán, so that my sheep may be whole and sound.'[237] The hagiographer added that, for this special protection, Colmán was entitled to a ewe-lamb from every flock in Ireland. Colmán is also represented as a protector of those going out to fight:

> 'May Colmán son of Luachán be by my side before my going on a harsh-hearted raid! If it should happen to me to be separated from the others, may no one carry off my glory! And everyone who recites this as well as the person on behalf of whom it is recited, shall not be overthrown and shall return safe to his house; and he owes Colmán a scruple for it'.

The well that Colmán of Lann brought forth with his staff at Dún na Cairrge was believed to heal many diseases and pestilences if one fasted near it; Colmán also blessed Port na hInnse and traced a circle around it 'and there is luck of milk and

234 On the literary texts relating to Mog Ruith, see A. M. O'Leary, 'Mog Ruith and apocalyptism in eleventh-century Ireland' in J. F. Nagy (ed.), *The Individual in Celtic Literatures*, CSANA Year-book, 1 (Dublin, 2001), 51–60; M. McNamara, *The Apocrypha in the Irish Church* (Dublin, 1975), 64–7.

235 Stokes, *The Martyrology of Oengus*, 190–91. See also Kenney, *Sources*, 279–80, 463, 749–53; A. Spears, ' "An scuab as Fánaid" and the XIth century pandemonium', *Donegal Annual*, no. 36 (1984), 5–20, where it is suggested that the panic was fuelled by the 'broom (with a long rush-like tail)' comet of 1097.

236 *AI* 1109.3.

237 Meyer, *Betha Colmáin*, 54–5.

ale, and every other food there for ever, and triumph of conception, and triumph of raid, and triumph of hosting henceforth until Doomsday'.[238]

In *Betha Coluim Cille* it is claimed that *Noli pater indulgeri*, a short seven-stanza hymn in Latin reputedly composed by Colum Cille, should be sung against fire, and whoever recited it on getting up in the morning or going to bed at night would be protected.[239] The first verse is 'Father, do not allow thunder and lightning, lest we be shattered by its fear and its fire.' The preface to *Noli pater indulgeri* in the eleventh-century *Liber Hymnorum* explained 'Whosoever recites it at lying down and at rising up is freed from all danger by fire, or lightning flash, as also are the nine persons dearest to him of his folk.'[240] Since this prayer was in Latin it would have been recited by clergy.

Such religious practices are not, of course, necessarily evidence for religious renewal or reformist impulses, but they nonetheless serve to shed some light on the experience and responses of the laity to the preaching of the clergy. Although Bernard of Clairvaux might not have been especially impressed, it was far from the truth to suggest that the Irish 'were Christian in name, yet pagans at heart'.[241] It is well to remember that around the same time as Bernard was writing, the asceticism and laudable simplicity of Irish monks in the Benedictine communities of southern Germany and Austria was admired and financially supported by secular rulers.[242] Bernard had no first-hand knowledge of Ireland, but Gerald of Wales must be accused of being wilfully misleading in his unremittingly negative portrayal of Irish Christianity by way of justifying Anglo-Norman intervention in Ireland. Even so, when he moved from generalised assertions to named churchmen Gerald was prepared to countenance a more positive portrayal, as in the case of Archbishop Gilla Meic Liac of Armagh (*ob.* 1174), whose ascetic lifestyle was such that he was acknowledged as a saint during his lifetime, or Lorcán Ua Tuathail, archbishop of Dublin (*ob.* 1180), whom Gerald described as a 'good and just man' through whose person God wrought many miracles.[243]

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238 Ibid., 52–3.
239 Herbert, *Iona*, 230, 256. For a translation of the hymn, see T. O. Clancy and G. Markus, *Iona: The Earliest Poetry of a Celtic Monastery* (Edinburgh, 1994), 83–5, who also explore its composite nature and highlight the first three stanzas as a distinct composition.
240 J. H. Bernard and R. Atkinson (eds), *The Irish Liber Hymnorum*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 13, 14 (London, 1897), i, 87–8, ii, 28.
241 *Vita Malachiae*, 325, line 12; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 33.
242 Cf. the charter of Duke Heinrich II Jasomirgott in favour of the *Schottenstift* at Vienna, *Solos eligimus scottos, eo quod et nostra experientia et religiosorum potissimus relatione, noverimus laudabilem eorundem simplicitatem*: Flachenecker, *Schottenklöster*, 214–16. The duke was already familiar with the Irish community at Regensburg, whence the personnel for the new house at Vienna in 1155 were drawn.
243 *Expugnatio*, 100–101, 196–7. Gerald also mentioned Lorcán's devotion to the Virgin Mary.

CONCLUSION
UNIVERSAL IDEALS AND REGIONAL RESPONSES

By the time Anglo-Norman infiltration into Ireland began in 1167 the Irish
church had acquired structures that were broadly in line with those in the rest of
Latin Christendom, which itself had undergone rapid and radical transformation
in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Personal and intellectual
contacts had been formed with ecclesiastics on the Continent and in England that
were highly influential in informing the self-understanding of Irish churchmen in
a wider European context. The Irish church was now led by the archbishop of
Armagh, who was not only acknowledged as the venerable *comarba Pátraic*
('successor of Patrick') but also accorded an honorial primatial authority that was
accepted by the archbishops of Cashel, Dublin and Tuam, and their suffragans,
who were responsible for the provision of pastoral care, for jurisdiction over
ecclesiastical property and for the oversight of monasteries within their dioceses.
Localised churches that may previously have functioned as semi-autonomous
units with their own customs and practices were now deemed to be under the
authority of a restructured episcopate. A native papal legate in the person of
Gillebertus, bishop of Limerick, was in residence from the early decades of the
twelfth century and a papal legation under Cardinal John Paparo had presided
over a national synod at Kells in 1152, at which pallia for the four archbishops of
Armagh, Cashel, Dublin and Tuam had been distributed. The diocesan structures
of the Irish church had thereby received papal endorsement and were to remain
stable for the remainder of the medieval period.

Continental monasticism in the form of the Augustinian and Benedictine
rules, and the Arrouaisian and Cistercian observances, had resulted in the founda-
tion or restructuring of some forty Augustinian and ten Cistercian houses. In the
extant charters of Irish kings for such houses the witness lists were headed by
bishops, thereby implicitly acknowledging episcopal oversight. The explicit
consent of Dungal Ua Cáellaide, bishop of Leighlin, to the confirmation of a
portion of his *paruchia* to Abbot Felix and the monks of Osraige by Diarmait
Mac Murchada, king of Leinster, is recorded in the main body of the king's
charter.[1] In the case of Diarmait's charter to St Mary's Abbey, Ferns, it is
confirmed that the abbot should be installed in office by the bishop of Ferns
following his free election according to the Rule of St Augustine by the 'entire

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1 M. T. Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters: Texts and Contexts* (Oxford, 2005), 254–5.

convent or the more responsible (*sanior*) part of it' and without intrusion or inter-ference by Diarmait or his heirs.[2]

In the historiography charting the transformation of the Irish church in the twelfth century attention has centred on the relative contributions made by external agencies, most notably the English church via the see of Canterbury, the papacy and the Cistercian order. However, local initiatives, generally with the support of lay rulers, had been crucial in preparing the groundwork from the mid eleventh century onwards for the more programmatic restructuring that was inau-gurated with the synod of Cashel in 1101, which was also the outcome of local dynamics. A wide range of contacts formed by individual Irish churchmen at home and abroad had proved of vital importance in creating a climate for change, while kings provided essential material support. The polemical rhetoric of external commentators, pre-eminently Bernard of Clairvaux and Gerald of Wales, each with their own agenda, has obscured the extent of that groundwork and the achievements of local initiative. Bernard's aim was to portray Malachy as a 'mirror and model' of an ideal bishop and, although Bernard wrote in response to a request from Cistercian monks in Ireland,[3] he envisaged not simply, or even primarily, an Irish audience. While he portrayed Irish Christianity as deficient and the Irish as a 'barbarous people', so as to emphasise Malachy's achieve-ments, in large part this was a rhetorical strategy, and he had no personal experi-ence of the Irish church other than his encounters with Malachy and his compatriots, and what they chose to tell him. In any case, Bernard's Life of Malachy never set out to provide a comprehensive account of the twelfth-century Irish church, but was rather his own didactic portrayal of Malachy and the obsta-cles that he had faced. Bernard's concept of barbarity was primarily spiritual and moral.[4] It was not that he wished to portray the Irish as innately savage or immoral. He acknowledged, for example, that in the past the monastery of Bangor had been a holy place which had produced many saints, including Columbanus. Bernard knew Columbanus to have been the founder of Luxeuil, which had so large a community of monks that it could maintain a perpetual liturgy.[5] It was rather the inadequacies of spiritual leadership, especially in the case of the church of Armagh, which Bernard understood to be the 'metropolitan' or primatial church, acknowledged not only by the Irish clergy but also by Irish kings and princes, that accounted for Irish barbarity: hence his virulent criticism of the hereditarily entrenched Clann Sínaich.[6] Gerald's motivation for his description of the Irish was more narrowly self-interested, in that he aimed to provide a justification for Anglo-Norman military conquest in Ireland – to

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2 Ibid., 284–5.
3 Above, p. 102.
4 D. Scully, 'Ireland and the Irish in Bernard of Clairvaux's Life of Malachy: representation and context' in D. Bracken and D. Ó Riain-Raedel (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century: Reform and Renewal* (Dublin, 2006), 239–56.
5 Above, p. 119.
6 Above, p. 36.

explain why, in the context of contemporary crusading activity against non-Christians in the Middle East, it was permissible to wage war on a Christian people in Ireland, and to validate the role of his relatives in that process.[7] Irish Christianity had been described in very positive terms by the Venerable Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, and Bede, of course, was well known as an author in English circles. At the very outset of his *History and Topography of Ireland* Gerald thus set out to discredit Bede as an authority on Ireland by highlighting how Bede's perception that Ireland had no bees was untrue.[8] Gerald's portrayal of the Irish as 'barbarians' relied more on physical descriptions of the Irish people and their lifestyle and customs, but, notwithstanding his emphasis on the veracity of his own observations, they are scarcely more accurate than those of Bernard. It is hardly likely that Gerald was unaware of Bernard's Life of Malachy, and it is surely significant that he made no mention of Malachy's career as a reformer, as that would have undermined his portrayal of the Irish as morally irredeemable without Anglo-Norman intervention.

Individual Irish churchmen who trained as monks in Winchester, Canterbury or St Albans, or who sought consecration by the archbishop of Canterbury between 1074 and 1140 and made professions of obedience, were not forced to do so:[9] the initiative behind such contacts was theirs. The choice of episcopal candidates who went to Canterbury for consecration was also made in Ireland: the bishops-elect, seven in total, went of their own volition and with the endorsement of Irish kings. It was Bishop Domnall Ua hÉnna who took the initiative in writing to Lanfranc to seek clarification of the views of the English church on baptism.[10] Bishop Máel Ísu (Malchus) Ua hAinmire, in requesting the text of Anselm's sermon on the Trinity, had to remind him that he had previously asked for a copy of his sermon on the Incarnation, which he had not yet supplied.[11] Bishop Gillebertus of Limerick also wrote to Anselm as a fellow bishop, acknowledging Anselm's superior rank as archbishop, yet without any intimation of inferiority and sympathising with him for the trials that he was experiencing at the hands of the 'unrestrained minds of the Normans'.[12] In the case of Malachy's promotion of Continental monasticism, it was he who took the first steps in visiting Arrouaise and Clairvaux in 1139 and in introducing those monastic observances to the Irish church. It was neither a Cîteaux, nor a Clairvaux, initiative that set up the first Irish Cistercian house; rather, Malachy left some of his associates for training at Clairvaux in 1140 while he returned to Ireland to choose a suitable location. The first Cistercian community was established at Mellifont

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7   For Gerald as a 'colonial reformer' in Wales, see H. Pryce, 'Church and society in Wales, 1150–1250: an Irish perspective' in R. R. Davies (ed.), *The British Isles, 1100–1250* (Edinburgh, 1988), 27–47 at 28.

8   Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, transl. J. J. O'Meara (Harmondsworth, 1982), 23, 35.

9   Above, p. 7, n. 25.

10   Above, p. 32, n. 150.

11   Above, p. 50, n. 84.

12   Above, p. 45, n. 50.

in 1142, after two years of preparation; and, as is plain from Bernard's letters, Malachy retained control of the initiative.

In relation to the European church reform movement as a whole, what used to be termed the Gregorian, or the papal, reform movement is now seen by historians to have had much wider and deeper roots and to have been much less reliant on papal direction. Attempts to improve standards in religious life emerged first at local level and were promoted by local clergy and lay powers, and only later came to be sponsored and directed by a reinvigorated papacy. In a similar way, the study of canon law is now regarded as having been much less dependent on Roman initiative than was once thought. There are, for example, relatively few canon law collections that were produced close to the papacy before Gratian's *Decretum ca* 1140. Universal canon law, its principles and application, was a collective enterprise fed by a multiplicity of interests.[13]

A comparable pattern of localised initiatives can be discerned in Ireland, where individual episcopal endeavour preceded papal direction and oversight. Bishop Gillebertus of Limerick's treatise intimates that the Irish church was more closely engaged in canonical and liturgical reflection than can now be ascertained, owing to the paucity of sources. The task of diocesan restructuring was inaugurated without direct papal input and papal endorsement was not forthcoming until the synod of Kells (1152) under the presidency of Cardinal John Paparo. Indeed, Irish churchmen appear to have been more eager to secure papal engagement for the Irish church than the popes were to respond to their requests. Irish clergy and laymen were attracted to Rome as the resting place of the apostles Peter and Paul, as is very evident in annalistic notices from the early eleventh century onwards. To Petrine Rome was added the pull of the institutional papacy from the early twelfth century. Papal supervision, however, appears to have emanated less from active papal initiative than from the wish of Irish clergy to secure it. Gillebertus of Limerick served as papal legate from the early decades of the twelfth century until his resignation in 1139, and, on the basis of the admittedly scant evidence, it would appear more likely that this particular papal connection was solicited from Ireland in the first instance, probably under the aegis of Gillebertus's royal patron, Muirchertach Ua Briain, king of Munster and high-king, than that the pope actively sought out a suitable Irish appointee and that Gillebertus's appointment resulted from his journeying to the Continent. It cannot be assumed that Gillebertus held legatine office continuously as an appointment normally lapsed on the death of the pope, with the added complication that between 1100 and 1121 there was a papal schism involving a series of rival anti-popes. He is likely to have owed his first appointment to Paschal II (1099–1118),[14] and since he resigned his legateship to Malachy in 1139 on the

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13 M. Brett, 'Canon law and litigation: the century before Gratian' in M. J. Franklin and C. Harper-Bill (eds), *Medieval Ecclesiastical Studies in Honour of Dorothy M. Owen* (Woodbridge, 1995), 21–40.

14 For the notice of Paschal's death in Irish annals, see above, p. 229, n. 179.

eve of the latter's departure for the Continent, he must have been reappointed by at least one, if not more, of Paschal's successors. The uncertainty surrounding Gillebertus's legateship only serves to highlight the paucity of knowledge about contacts between the papacy and Irish churchmen. The Annals of the Four Masters described Malachy on his death in 1148 'as having been the second time in the legateship'. He was first appointed in 1139 by Innocent II, who died in 1143. Innocent was followed in rapid succession by Celestine II's six-month pontificate and the eleven-month pontificate of Lucius II. Malachy's legateship therefore lapsed between 1143 and 1145, when he was reappointed by Pope Eugenius III. Malachy's second legateship must have resulted from an otherwise unattested papal contact with Ireland. In 1139, when Malachy had sought pallia for the Irish archbishoprics from Innocent II, the pope had temporised, urging Malachy to demonstrate the unanimity of Irish churchmen by convening a *generale concilium*.[15] In 1148, prior to a journey to the Continent, Malachy thus convened a synod at Inis Pátraic for the purpose of formulating a unanimous request from the Irish church for pallia. In 1152, more than forty years after the synod of Ráith Bressail had first delineated a territorially defined diocesan structure, the first papal legate *a latere* (literally, 'from the side of [the pope]'), Cardinal John Paparo, finally arrived in Ireland and presided over the synod of Kells, but only after Malachy had twice travelled to the Continent to request papal endorsement of the diocesan structures of the Irish church. By contrast with the attitude of the English king Stephen, who obstructed both Malachy's and Paparo's passages through England in 1148 and 1150, there is no evidence that Irish kings viewed contacts with the papacy, or Paparo's legation, with suspicion. On the contrary, Pope Alexander III wrote to an unnamed Irish king to thank him for his cordial reception of a papal envoy who had been sent to announce a forthcoming council, probably that of Tours in 1163.[16] Alexander III spent three years in exile in France between 1162 and 1165 because the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa was supporting a rival pope, Victor IV. In September 1162, the Victorine party had celebrated a council in Burgundy and the council of Tours was planned as a counter council that would demonstrate the strength and unity of Alexander's supporters. In the context of schism,[17] the larger and more inclusive the attendance the better, and the support of even a *rex Hibernorum* assumed political importance.

When contemporaries wrote about the changes they sought to effect in religious life and the institutions of the church, they rarely used words such as 'reform'. This makes it more difficult to define and comprehend reformist agendas. *Renovatio*, or 'renewal', a return to what were perceived to be the ideals of the past, was the most usual articulation. In the case of the Irish church it is

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15 *Vita Malachiae*, 344, lines 8–9; *St Malachy the Irishman*, 53.

16 Above, p. 4, n. 17.

17 On the Alexandrine schism, see further, C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250*, Oxford History of the Christian Church (Oxford, 1989), 192–5.

arguable that renewal in the sense of a return to the norms of the past was a greater challenge, since the Irish church had developed rather localised customs, while its ecclesiastical scholarship, including biblical exegesis, had from the ninth century onwards increasingly been written in the vernacular, resulting in Irish scholars participating less in the general cultural inheritance of the Latin church.[18] Reformist aims have to be gleaned at some remove from imperfect sources: from poorly transmitted conciliar legislation, from the problematic genre of hagiographical Lives or from charters issued by laymen in favour of ecclesiastical beneficiaries. The emphatic statement of Gillebertus of Limerick that the 'diverse and schismatical orders' of Irish churchmen needed 'to yield to the one, catholic, Roman office' is a notably clear exception.[19] Inscriptions on the reliquaries that were newly wrought or refurbished from the eleventh century onwards did not explicitly express ideas of renewal, merely seeking prayers on behalf of the donors and craftsmen who had fashioned or refurbished the objects, but nonetheless there can be little doubt that renovation and renewal was the underlying motivation. As the inscriptions do make plain, these projects were the cooperative enterprise of local clergy and lay rulers. A receptive audience for renewal and renovation had to be created before its claims could be heard, and, although the paucity of evidence constitutes a major challenge, it cannot be doubted that substantive revitalisation and change did take place among the clergy of the more important churches and monasteries and among those higher ecclesiastics with links to royal courts, and that it also had a wider impact on lay society. The universal ideals that were defined with increasing clarity by Continental church reformers reached the Irish church via a variety of routes of transmission and generated genuine attempts by Irish churchmen to adopt and disseminate them within clerical circles and to transmit them to lay society, even if, as elsewhere, it proved difficult to implement them in practice. That the intention to do so was genuine, however, cannot be in doubt.

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18 T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Oxford, 2000), 592–3, 599.
19 Above, p. 79.

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The twelfth century heralded a wide-ranging transformation of the Irish church which was a regional manifestation of a pan-European reform movement. This book, the first to offer a sustained account of this change, moves beyond the previous concentration on the restructuring of Irish dioceses and episcopal authority, and the introduction of Continental monastic observances, to broaden the discussion. It charts changes in the religious culture experienced by the laity as well as the clergy and takes account of the particular Irish experience within the wider European context.

The universal ideals that were defined with increasing clarity by Continental advocates of reform generated a series of initiatives from Irish churchmen aimed at disseminating reform ideology within clerical circles and transmitting it also to lay society, even if, as elsewhere, it often proved difficult to implement in practice. Whatever the obstacles faced by reformist clergy, their genuine concern to transform the Irish church and society cannot be doubted, and is attested in a range of hitherto under-exploited sources upon which this volume draws.

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Cover: Plaque from the shrine known as Breac Maedhóg, c.1100 (National Museum of Ireland).

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